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## The Churches of Scandinavia

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THE STUDENT OF SOCIAL sciences is always seeking relationships between forces, institutions, and social conditions in any community or order. The thought is a natural one, then, to inquire concerning the status of the Church in those countries which in recent years have gained the enviable distinction of being among the most democratic of all the nations. What is the significance of the fact that about 95 percent of the people of the countries of Scandinavia give their allegiance to the Lutheran Church? What part has the Church played in the development of these Northern democracies? What is the spirit of the Church today, and its program for tomorrow? Friends of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland are interested in answers to these and similar questions, as they survey the Scandinavian democracies.

Even before these countries attracted the world's attention by their social measures, they were distinguished by their high rate of literacy. That this had something to do with social intelligence in this century is quite apparent. But how did illiteracy come to be stamped out in the former century? Many signs point to the Church. The Lutheran Church in Scandinavia has been a teaching institution. For centuries a clear-cut program has been carried out, with the result that the comparatively small and rural populations of these countries have become unified and schooled in a way hardly matched elsewhere in the world.

In the seventeenth century a New Sweden was established on the Delaware, in this country. Documents remaining to us from the life of

the Swedish churches in Wilmington and Philadelphia attest the zeal of the pastors in teaching their people. Every Sunday, in addition to a worship service, there was a catechetical period. The congregations were divided, as in the old country, into districts, and the pastor made regular rounds to instruct and catechize his parishioners.

This was over two hundred years ago, in a colony of the North. In the homelands the order was more rigid and complete. The textbook was Luther's Catechism, on which Northern Lutherans have been brought up through a dozen generations. The effect of the institution of Confirmation can hardly be overemphasized. Longfellow, a century ago, felt the unique power of the culminating rite. But the training of children was only the beginning. *Hus förhör* centered adult education in the home. And the weight of the State was brought to bear on the ordering of social life. What the Church taught, the law enforced. Church and State were one in the centuries following the Reformation in their discipline of the popular mind and customs.

Indeed this unity of the people, politically and religiously, is the most striking fact of modern Scandinavian history. Not that the countries have been one in government. There have been attempts to realize also this one-ness. Until our own century Norway had been allied with either Denmark or Sweden. Finland has always lived under the shadow, and mostly under the suzerainty, of Russia. Before the Reformation the Calmar Union sought to effect a common center, but neither then nor later has a Scandinavian union succeeded. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the religious unity which has persisted for four centuries.

Modern students have remarked that one reason for the high order of Swedish industrial housing lies in the fact that Swedish industries developed after 1870, when the mercantile system had done its worst in other countries. Consequently Swedish slums had no time to develop, and the industrialization period found social leaders prepared for its changes. A similar situation prevailed in the Reformation period. The Northern churches were the last to come into the papal domain. Forces of reform were already stirring when the organization of these churches was effected. Last to join the papacy and among the first to leave it, the Scandinavian dioceses never experienced the worst of medieval abuses.

All the more earnestly the reformers in the North gave themselves to the new order. There was no Counter-reformation in these countries. Instead there remained a peculiar blending of the old and the new which to this day shows itself in the episcopal organization, the use of medieval vestments and customs, and above all, in a sense of continuity of history unbroken by reformation or revolution. Here is a unity of history as well as geography and culture, almost unique in the modern world.

## II

Is there not an underlying connection between this conservatism of the Scandinavian peoples and the recent history of their churches? The student of church history is struck by the phenomenon that, despite the various free-church movements of the past hundred years, the State Churches still live on. There have been separations, but the numbers involved are small. These movements have gone forward *within* the Church, in many cases they have been quite independent in their spirit, yet they have not broken the hold of the State Church on the folk life.

The pattern of these movements has been remarkably similar in the various countries. Hauge in Norway, Rosenius in Sweden, Hedberg in Finland, the Inner Mission Movement in Denmark, Evangeliska-Fosterlands Stiftelsen in Sweden—in these men and organizations were elements sufficient to explode the existing order. Yet the result has been a purifying of the State Church and a strengthening of it. This is not to deny the power of the Free-churches, especially Missionsförbundet in Sweden, and the Methodist, Baptist, and Salvation Army groups in all these countries. But the surprising fact is that, despite the vigor of the Free-churches, their number is so small. And in recent years the tendency of these independent groups has been toward, rather than away from, the State Church.

Visitors to the North would find it easier to understand the State's relationship to the Church, if they thought of the Church as a Folk, rather than a State, Church. For the real power of the Church lies in its deep attachment to the people. The English term Folk does not connote all that its Scandinavian form does. *Folket*—the word itself binds all those of common heritage into a unity. It does not permit of the class feeling which lurks behind the English term, so easily associated with "common people." A couple of decades ago Swedish students banded together in the Swedish Christian Student Union, and adopted as a motto, "*Sveriges Folk—Ett Guds Folk*" (The people of Sweden—a people of God). Beneath the idea of a State Church springs the hope that a people with common history, common culture, common country of mountains, lakes, and forests, common ideals, should unite in their worship and their service of one another.

No abler exponent of the kind of unity which underlies the idea of the State Church can be mentioned than that of Grundtvig. While his work centered in Denmark, his influence has been general in the North. In his youth he was deeply affected by the romantic element in his ancestors' history. But he passed from this stage to one where Christ took the dominating place. His Church was to find expression in the educa-

tion, the agriculture, the social customs of the people of Denmark as well as in the worship, the Creed, the songs of the Danish congregations. *Folk* high-schools bear out something of the idea of *Folk* which was to characterize Danish life. How different such a conception of the people's unity from that which came to take its place in countries where *Folket* became synonymous with the proletariat!

Grundtvig's cultural and spiritual endeavors seem to have a modern counterpart in Sigtuna Stiftelsen. Whoever has stood by the quiet tree-framed waters of Old Sigtuna and in this harmony of nature and history heard the modern note of this institution, has sensed something of the Scandinavian Church which defies description. Here is a medieval garden of roses, a Greek façade, a simple chapel, where is mediated the heritage of other days. But here foregather representatives also of the professions—lawyers, doctors, business men, labor leaders, to discuss with theologians and pastors the life of today, so that the message of the One Christ may be brought to all sorts and conditions of men in cities, on farms, in sport, in hospitals. This is the fruit of the student movement of a quarter century ago which wanted to make a people of today God's people in as true a sense as was ancient Israel.

Critics of State control of the Church naturally are suspicious of the freedom given the Church in such a relationship. Certainly one should hesitate to recommend an imitation of the State Church of Scandinavia for adoption in other countries lacking the background and foundation which exists there. But there must be some justification for a system which produces the literature, the hymnody, the architecture, the works of mercy, which these sister churches have to their credit in days such as these. A new translation of the Bible, a new Church Manual, a revision of the Catechism, a new Hymnbook, are fruits of labors of the Church of Sweden alone in the present generation. In Denmark the Inner Mission gathers funds for the construction of church buildings where older edifices are not adequate. An extensive charitable program is carried on in all these countries, and in foreign missions they rank among the leaders in Christendom. Who will deny that the Christian virtue of mercy had much to do with the amazing proportions of help given by these countries to Finland in her agony of just a few months ago?

It has sometimes been observed that in the three countries a difference of emphasis exists, so that in Sweden attention is directed to the Church, in Norway to the Christian, in Denmark to the congregation. The Lutheran Church easily allows of such variations, and the State has been amenable to forces within the community. Neither King nor parliament in any of these countries has been opposed to the Church, both have been conscious of their duties toward the Church of which they

are members no less than they are leaders in the State. Indeed the most effective work of the Church is in the education it has given, directly and indirectly, those who have become the officials of government. These understand that democracy cannot succeed without the Church.

Norway affords an interesting example of what Christians can do when the existing forms do not correspond to actual life. From some quarters there came violent criticism of the theological faculty at the University, controlled by the State. A concerted movement set up another faculty to train pastors more nearly in accord with conservative Lutheranism. Now this is the more popular school, but its graduates, like those of the State institution, enter into the service, in most instances, of congregations supported by the State.

There is, one is led to think, as much liberty in the State Church of each country as its members want to use. The boundaries are sufficiently flexible. Freedom remains a freedom within the Church. So much of the heritage of former generations is conserved by the Church that alienation from it means a loss of values on which the Scandinavian sets a high price. The roots of his life are in religious earth, though the branches of the tree may seem far removed. At birth and at death he is not far from the Church.

### III

Scandinavian thought has been much less dependent on German theology than one would expect since both are Lutheran. The course of European culture has been reflected, to some degree, in the capitals of those countries. But Humanism came late to the North, and its secular tone was never dominant. Luther has had more influence than Erasmus, or even Melanchthon. Pietism, too, has come in recurring waves, from Herrnhut, from Halle, from England and America. Through the centuries since the Reformation the Catechism, the Bible, the Hymnbook, and books of devotion have nourished the souls of the peasant folk—who till recent times made up most of the population of these countries.

Yet the Church has not been unchallenged in lands which have produced Brandes, Ibsen, Strindberg, Björnson, Höffding, Westermarck, Ellen Key, Branting. And within the ranks a Hauge and a Sören Kierkegaard put embarrassing questions. The Church has had to know itself and defend itself. Since the middle of the last century it has had to rely less and less on force furnished by the State and justify itself by works and by persuasion. Kierkegaard's demand for a Christianity which shall be experienced and not only thought is not greatly different from the pietist's requirements that Christian faith shall show itself in

life. Continually on the defensive, the Lutheran Church has given a modern answer to the social questions of Scandinavia.

Since the turn of the century a vigorous Luther Renaissance has developed in Sweden particularly. Thinkers such as Aulén and Nygren have challenged Harnack's conception of early Christianity. They seek to define more clearly the essence of the Christian faith, stressing the quality of grace and the activity of God. They fail to find the secret of Christianity in modern thought. They point to a new turn in human thought, and like Luther find new meaning in the biblical revelation.

Their thought has been a factor in the Swedish contribution to the Ecumenical movement—the most noteworthy development today in the Christian Church of the world. And no one name has meant more in this movement than Nathan Söderblom, former archbishop of Uppsala. Confronted by the disaster of the first World War, he and others brought together the divergent Protestant communions and parts of the Orthodox Church. A world council of churches is just now in process of formation—it has had much support from the churches in Scandinavia.

The Scandinavian participation in the Ecumenical endeavor testifies to the faith of these churches in a world order based on the universal truth in Christ. Imbued as the Scandinavian peoples are with a sense of unity and continuity, they reject as absurd all theories of pure race and thinking by blood. The unity of the race is in a Cross, whence comes man's hope. Grundtvig long ago passed out of the stage now held by "German Christians." With all its homogeneity, the Scandinavian Church sees no merit in itself, but bases its faith on a Christ even now present and working for the redemption of all peoples.

There is much of brooding self-analysis in the Northern character. To some it may seem that the consciousness of sin is unduly stressed, to the detriment of the Christian sense of joy. But in that character is a simple honesty which reflects itself in all that is best in the Northern Church. Here is a demand that honesty shall prevail in preaching and in practice. The Church shall be honest to its confessions. Christians shall be honest in their practices. State and Church shall be honest to each other. As long as there is honesty there is a basis for confidence and mutual action.

Scandinavian democracy cannot be conceived apart from the churches which have indoctrinated the people of this democracy. A common designation for a pastor is *Lärare*, teacher. The Church has been a teacher, continuously, rigorously, clearly, for four centuries. Modern Scandinavians have been brought up in the Church as in a school. Adults may leave the school—they cannot forget what was taught.

# The Dramatic Works of Pär Lagerkvist

BY HOLGER AHLENius



Pär Lagerkvist

**S**WEDISH LITERATURE has never been rich in gifted dramatists. Each of the last four or five generations of authors can show only one playwright of distinction. The great name in the modern awakening of the Eighties was Strindberg, and as a writer of plays he has to this day no rival in our land. The dramatist of the Nineties was Tor Hedberg, and of the following generation Hjalmar Bergman. Among the authors who came to maturity during the years of the World War, Pär Lagerkvist, born in 1891, is incontestably the greatest. He introduces a new period in our literature and is besides the only dramatist of rank in his generation.

## I

Two central experiences form the point of departure in the authorship of Pär Lagerkvist: one, the conflict between the Christian and the scientific-naturalistic views of life; the other, the World War, which seems to have made a deeper impression upon him than upon anyone else in neutral Sweden. He was not able to share the Christian faith of his pious parental home, and yet he writhed in agony under the yoke of the naturalistic doctrine. The World War seemed to confirm that idea of man as a beast of prey which is inherent in the naturalistic conception of the universe, and Pär Lagerkvist's youthful works are one single cry of despair over the bestiality of man. This mood dominates his first, very imperfect drama *Sista mänskan* (The Last Man, 1917), a vision in lyrical-oratorical form of the extinction of human life on earth. It is a perspective framed on the naturalistic

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*Note.*—This article was written for the REVIEW before the election of Pär Lagerkvist to a place among the Eighteen Immortals of the Swedish Academy. He inherits the chair of Verner von Heidenstam who had expressed the wish that Lagerkvist might be his successor.—EDITOR

theory of evolution and rendered timely by the slaughter of humanity then taking place. In form, however, it shows the influence both of the Greek choral drama and of the Christian medieval play.

Even as early as this, Pär Lagerkvist, following the model of the German Expressionists, had learned technique from Strindberg's *A Dream Play*. This is still more evident in *Den svåra stunden* (The Trying Hour, 1918) containing three short one-act plays in which the dreams and visions of the moment of death are compressed. They are marked by a decidedly conscious art which utilizes the intense lighting effects and suggestive stylized decorations of modern theatrical mechanism. Using the same technique, the author achieves a more genuinely artistic effect in *Himlens hemlighet* (The Secret of Heaven, 1919), a cosmic vision of a fantastic and ghostlike world. The orb of the earth rises on the stage, and upon it sit, lie, or crawl strange human wrecks, creatures who are crippled in mind and body, each one despairingly alone with his fate, brooding over the lack of meaning in existence. All is contempt, mockery, and hatred. Only for a moment the power of love sounds a note that makes the world beautiful and human beings kind. But it soon dies away. Love is only a fleeting dream, an illusion, and the next moment everything is just as dark and hopeless as before.

This deep pessimism is the last work in the youthful dramas of Pär Lagerkvist. But the metaphysical problems, the great life riddles, never ceased to engross this visionary and brooding genius, and the brief revelation of love in *Himlens hemlighet* was a foreshadowing of how the author was to conquer naturalism.

## II



Märta Ekström and Olov Widgren in "The Man Without a Soul"

Love, sublimated into a Christian-Platonic mysticism, gradually transformed Pär Lagerkvist's realism, poured new life into it, and lifted it above the animal. The separation of the animal in man from that which is human in a higher sense, between that in our being which is determined by nature and that which lies on a loftier plane than mere nature,

has been the theme of his later works, whether prose or poetry. The faith in something in man higher than mere nature is crystallized also in the play *Den osynlige* (The Invisible One, 1923), built up like a medieval morality play with all the actors embodying certain powers in life. A super-earthly origin is here attributed to the spirit of man. It is a heavenly being which has descended to earth and assumed human form. Itself invisible, it is present wherever men fight against earthliness and evil, but it must descend into the valley of the shadow of death, into the lowest depths. Though the temple is burning, though death is gathering its har-

vest, and life must be destroyed, yet the eternal *quand-même* of the human spirit, which is revealed in love and heroic deeds, nevertheless rises toward heaven. Death has no power over the human spirit, which will go on living after man has passed away. In spite of its noble fervor, its wonderfully beautiful lyric passages, the drama is one of the weaker in Pär Lagerkvist's production. It is too declamatory, too slow in its tempo, and altogether too vague in thought and form. In a later prose work the author has found much more striking and organic expression for the relation between the natural and the spiritual, comparing them with the roots and crown of a tree—the chief emphasis laid on the latter which "at least strives toward the sky."

At the same time he began to adopt a more realistic technique and a much simpler everyday language, related to naïvism in the art of painting, and this language he has continued to use, although it retains a mystic undertone, as of a double sounding board. In this style the author has written one of his most important dramatic works, bearing



Gösta Ekman in "The Hangman"

the title *Han som fik leva om sitt liv* (He Who Lived His Life Over Again, 1928), in which the visionary element appears only as a background in the form of a few significant incidents revealing the former self of the main character, once in warning and once in reproach. The spirit of man has found a dwelling-place in a simple shoemaker and its unequal struggle against the animal and the sensual is fought out against the background of a detailed, realistically described milieu of ordinary plain people. The temptation which in his former life had made Daniel a criminal he is now able to conquer, but in the repleteness of his happy and comfortable old age he fails to comprehend the suffering of his own son and thereby drives the youth to his death. In vain he has lived his life over again—he has once more become a murderer. He who does not see his fellowmen as people like himself, who does not find the same elevation and tragedy in their lives as in his own, has not comprehended the essential in the fate of humanity. This demand for human sympathy and understanding, together with a pessimistically clear view of how limited is the power of love and goodness, is the closing note in the drama which, as an acting play, is remarkably strong and vivid.

To the after-War period of doubt and seeking belongs also the symbolic drama *Konungen* (The King, 1932). The background is a colorful Asiatic fairy tale milieu. Outwardly it is a drama about social revolution; the old hierachic, authoritarian State is replaced, after bloody convulsions, by a popular government. Both parties use force and release the animal in man, but better than the stench of corruption and decay is nevertheless the smell of fresh blood over the earth—declares the deposed monarch Amar-Azu. It is not, however, the social and political problems that are the most important, but, as always in Pär Lagerkvist, the metaphysical. Amar-Azu personifies the spirit which has despaired after seeing the bondage of humanity under instincts and passions, and which therefore longs to be released from earthly fetters. His companion, Nadur, is his own youthful self, the spirituality which still has faith and hope and which still wants to serve humanity in the new State. The moving and earnest dialogue between Amar-Azu and Nadur, which is the inner melody of the drama, is really carried on in the mind of the author in which faith in and doubt of the reality and power of the spirit alternated during those years like high tide and low.

### III

Pär Lagerkvist himself stems from the common people and has, to a certain extent, been able to make allowances for the violence that is practised in the service of democratic progress. But the reactionary



*Scene from "He Who Lived His Life Over Again," with Lars Hansson, Anna Lindahl, Märta Ekström, and Alf Sjöberg*

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violence which, since 1933, has been elevated to the position of highest principle in a great European State, moved him from the first moment, to pained, indignant protest. Confronted with the revival of barbarism and the degradation of humanity in the decade of pogroms and concentration camps, his faith in love and in the spirit of man has flamed up with renewed intensity, in Promethean defiance against the reigning god of the age. It is against this background that we must see his last two plays. They are both ideological, realistic dramas in contemporary dress and show him at the height of his powers.

The protagonist in *Mannen utan själ* (The Man Without a Soul, 1936) is a sensitive youth, of a type not uncommon in our day, who is moved by a sick desire for revenge on a world that has no place for him, and who therefore throws himself into political street fights and sadistic hunting down of all who have different opinions or are differently made. The subject of the drama is a man who loses the world but gains his own soul, thanks to the love which, here as in earlier works of the author, is allowed to vitalize the dead mass of reality. When we first meet the man he has just taken part in an act of political terror. Cold and cynical, he scorns all talk of the soul or of religion. But there is a woman who becomes his refuge from the police and from loneliness. She is about to become a mother, to bear the child of the man he had helped to murder. How love conquers him, and how he longs to atone for his crime, is the subject of the drama. The woman dies in childbirth, but when the man's companions jubilantly go to war, he steals quietly to the graveyard to visit both his dead. He has found a new and greater power than that of his former leaders and to this power he yields allegiance, while he bravely meets his punishment, which is death as a deserter. He has not attained to faith in a true sense, but at least to a longing for peace and an understanding that a human being must have something else within him besides his own self. Love and the pangs of conscience have together done their work, and have made him into a human being in a higher and truer sense. Even though the line of psychological development is not always clear, the drama as a whole conveys a serene, almost a devout picture of a deep transformation in a human being. It is the particular gift of Pär Lagerkvist to fuse the timely and the timeless. The frame and external conditions furnish the timely element, but the recreative power of love is eternal. Although the words Nazi and Communist seem to be in the air, they are never spoken.

In a similar manner a theme of today has been lifted to universal significance in the latest work of the dramatist, *Seger i mörker* (Victory in the Dark, 1939). The twin brothers Gabriel Fontan and Robert



Scene from "The Invisible One," Gustaf Molander in the Foreground

Grant, who are here presented in tragic contrast, are in the deepest sense the two beings who dwell within us, both the self of day and the self of night, the one ruled by reason and the other ruled by passion. The author has set out to show how sinister the consequences may be if the innumerable threads that bind the brothers together are severed, if the self of reason refuses to acknowledge kinship with the self of passion. But above all he wants to show how the latter, if it is let loose, will be a destructive power, while the former, with the help of love, can even render death impotent because it represents devotion to an idea or to a cause that survives ourselves. The external events center on the struggle between a democratic statesman who is the advocate of humanitarian ideals and believes in the goodness of man and the corrupt demagogue who is deliberately playing on the irresponsible elements in the community, appealing to the lowest passions and seeing in them the real nature of man. On the face of it, the latter wins out. After Fontan in a very fine philosophic speech tries to engage the armed forces on the side of righteousness and humanitarianism, his fate is sealed. He and the system he represents are carried away in the deluge. But, on the other hand, he regains the love of his wife, which he had

forfeited, and together they face the firing squad, strong in their love and serene in their faith that right will prevail, that no violence can kill forever the cause they have striven for. Grant, on the other hand, is agonized by his sense of impotence under the responsibility his fellows have laid upon him, which he—the irresponsible—is unable to bear. This mighty drama, which so vividly bodies forth the deepest problems of our time and is instinct with human pathos, is so far the last word of the author.

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The nightmare dream of the human beast which was created by the World War became in Pär Lagerkvist's hands expressionistic experimental drama in the style of Strindberg's later works. Then the author's world was illumined by love and he began to see the spiritual in man. The human spirit was given divine attributes and eternity in the high-pitched, lyrical-oratorical medieval play *Den osynlige*; assumed life-like and fragile everyday shape combined with visionary strength in *Han som fik leva om sitt liv*; was torn between resignation and hope in the low-toned conversations against an orgiastic oriental background in the fairy tale drama, *Konungen*. Steeled and strengthened by persecution, it rose again to a more definite though more circumscribed existence in the two great dramas of ideas in the Thirties; grew into the power of love to recreate even the violent mentality of these latter days in *Mannen utan själ*; and fought its apparently desperate fight against passions let loose in *Seger i mörker*, achieving victory in defeat, because—no matter what its origin and nature may be—it enlists us in the fight for ideas that have a longer span of life than we ourselves.

Pär Lagerkvist has not attained to a final clarity in the metaphysical problems or to a religious faith firmly based on dogma. First and last, he is a seeking and a thirsting spirit and, not least in virtue of that, is a true spokesman of his age. His never resting Jacob's wrestle with the great riddles of humanity can be traced in his creative writing, which is in its feeling the most deeply religious, the most fervid and most profoundly human in our recent literature.

# Norway's Message to America

BY ELIZABETH MONROE

*Professor of English in Brooklyn College*

**A**VISIT FROM SIGRID UNDSET would be a memorable occasion in our lives at any time. Her profound exploration, in the novel, of the eternal motives of sin and redemption which universalize man's lot, and her distinguished contributions to the history of Scandinavian culture give her a place among the great writers of all times. But it is not as a novelist that Mrs. Undset speaks to America. Men and women who sit listening with absorbed attention to her narrative of how the war came to Norway have not come to hear a novelist's view of world affairs, but to share in the tragedy that has overtaken the whole human race. Although Mrs. Undset has suffered deeply through the present war, she never allows her own sorrows to appear or gives opportunity for a proffer of sympathy, but concentrates rigidly on the description of the end of an epoch.



*Sigrid Undset*

To Mrs. Undset the tragedy that has overcome Scandinavia is more than a national loss. She focuses attention on these small nations because their fate is inextricably bound up with the fate of democracy everywhere. It is her reasoned opinion that the earth is not large enough for the democracies and the dictatorships at the same time; one or the other must go. She says that Finland was a threat to Russia, strange as this allegation may have seemed to us, because her development through the arts of peace put to shame a régime which could feel important only through conquest and the arts of death. Mrs. Undset

characterizes the Finns as the most vigorous nationality in Europe. When they were attacked, the other nations did what they could. Sweden sent 10,000 men; laborers and servants gave a percentage of their wages, and the Nobel prize winners, at the suggestion of Selma Lagerlöf, gave their gold discs—that is, all except Knut Hamsun for whom Mrs. Undset has a deep scorn. Norway and Denmark followed Sweden on a smaller scale. When the Mannerheim line began to give way, the Norwegians were heartbroken, because they realized that the totalitarian effort to destroy small States as such was from that moment possible of success.

If Finland was a threat to Russia, then the larger democracies must be an even greater threat to totalitarianism and the struggle between them must be a struggle to the death. By the very nature of their ideology, the totalitarian States are bound to continue their conquests—if they win in the present conflict they must still fight on or perish by inner decay, and if they fail they will rise again in an effort at world domination. She quotes the Japanese proverb, "Who rides the tiger cannot jump off," to illustrate the self-perpetuating career of the totalitarians.

Mrs. Undset stresses the position of these small Scandinavian nations for two reasons—because what happened to them may be taken as the prototype of the fate of democracies everywhere, and because the union they had achieved is unique in modern civilization. These five countries—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland—have been bound together in the past by ties of kinship, culture, history, and ideals. They understood each other's language and culture and, even when at war one with the other, felt themselves members of a single family. According to Mrs. Undset's description it would seem that this union was a close approximation to the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man.

Mrs. Undset speaks with pride of the social structure of Sweden, which has won the admiration of the world. What Sweden has done for child welfare, the protection of old age, and the betterment of housing conditions has long been a model for other European countries. The works of Mrs. Undset, Selma Lagerlöf, and Knut Hamsun illustrate the cultural resurgence that has made itself felt throughout these countries during the present century. Mrs. Undset feels that the Norwegians, more than any other people, have earned the right to call the land they live on their own. In the unpublished part of an essay describing her escape from Norway, she says: "They (the cairns) bear silent witness of our right to this country where our forefathers for more than two thousand years have labored to tame and subjugate so

that they could build houses for human beings in the steep sides of the valleys, along the rivers, in primeval forests, below steep mountains and hanging braes." She says that only ten per cent of the land is fit for cultivation. And yet the Norwegians have labored heroically to wrest a living from the soil and from the sea. Heroism has become second nature to them. In a very deep sense they have made themselves masters of the land because they have first been its servants. It is hard to think of an alien race swarming over this land, a race of men who have come to "harvest where they have never sown, order and command a people whom they have never served."

Mrs. Undset repudiates the German claim to close relationship with the Nordic peoples of these five small nations. She says that even in the Middle Ages the old Norwegian laws did not countenance torture as a means of establishing justice. Capital punishment was abolished sixty years ago in Norway and crimes of violence are almost unheard of. Theirs is a peaceful, orderly development directly opposed to growth by conquest.

Since the last war the small nations of Europe have continued their independent existence under the informal protection of England and France and of the League of Nations, whenever that body managed to function. When the present war began, the League was breathing its last, and on June 25, 1940, it died. England and France were in no position to offer protection to anyone. As a result the small nations of Europe were left to bear the brunt of a ruthless invasion; they could give up without fighting or lay themselves open to brutal slaughter. It is clear that Mrs. Undset's sympathies are with England, a nation which she loves only after her own, because these two countries are alike in their aims and in their traditions of living. In spite of this, she feels that Norway had reason to expect better things of England than the *Altmark* affair and the mining of Norwegian waters. No one, however, can blame England for not offering Norway a protection not in her power to give. Some other form of protection than that provided by the balance of power will have to be extended to small countries in the future.

Unlike many other visiting Europeans, Mrs. Undset offers no direct advice to America. She does feel, however, that Norway's failure to prepare in time has a lesson for us. She says they laughed at spies and thought them silly; they took their freedom for granted and were unwilling or unable to read the signs in the skies. They were totally unprepared for a war of airplanes and heavy tanks and had nothing to fall back on but the heroism and expert marksmanship of their soldiers. As a result, 3,000 Norwegians are now dead, and Norway itself is bent

under the yoke of Germany. It is to Mrs. Undset's credit that she does not draw the parallel between Norway and America—but the parallel is there and the warning too. In the light of present conditions in America, Mrs. Undset's tragic story has more than a passing interest for us.

Mrs. Undset does not find the future hopeful. In her two New York lectures she said: "We are certainly on the brink of another dark age. If the democracies win, we are in for centuries of troubled times. If the dictatorships win, no one knows how long the age of darkness will last." She is willing, however, to consider possibilities. In a conversation with the writer of this article she said she thought the League of Nations could be resuscitated on the basis of Christian principles and with an army to enforce justice. She thinks there might be a confederation of the democracies—England, the small democratic countries of Europe, and America. These proposals seem at best unrealistic. They are not offered as solutions, but tentatively as a means of overcoming the disunity that has laid democratic countries open to attack.

Mrs. Undset's novels give the impression of a profound understanding of the causes of totalitarianism. A denial of all ultimate values leads to the erection of self as the measure of truth. If the individual is strong enough, he can impose his opinion or will on a whole nation and finally perhaps on the better part of the world. It is but a step from this sentimental humanitarianism, which seeks to arrange life according to its own opinions, to the concept of dictatorship. If this is true, then totalitarianism is an evil in human nature which has abandoned the idea of God, and it can appear in democracy as well as in autocratic States.

In her lectures, however, Mrs. Undset appears to be laying the blame for the present catastrophe on the totalitarian governments. The implication is that to destroy these governments will save us from totalitarianism. The implication of her novels is to me sounder—that in a return to God lies the salvation of man and of society. If man loves and obeys God, he will likewise respect his fellowmen because they share in the divine life. If he accepts the law of God as final, he will not erect his own feelings and opinions in the place of truth nor seek to impose his individual will on society.

# Alvar Aalto

BY G. E. KIDDER SMITH

*Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation*

**I**N A REMOTE VILLAGE in the forests of Finland there was born, forty-two years ago, to a young engineer and his wife a son who today possesses one of the most brilliant and keenly analytical approaches to architecture in our generation. His name is Alvar Aalto.

Cultural traditions and the intellectual life of Finland at this time were carried on not in the large cities but, strangely enough, in the small towns of the forest; the reason being that for hundreds of years the wood industry has been Finland's main source of income, and the upkeep of the forests her major concern. The overseers and engineers in charge, who perforce must live near their work, were hence among Finland's most important citizens. Aalto's family had for years been of this stock, and the culture of this life was all part of his youth.

The mixed influences of a small village and limited number of friends with the traditional yet liberally enlightened interests of his family produced in turn in the boy a democratic, natural, ingratiating personality with eager ideas of his own. The close contact with nature resulted in a realistic philosophy, but one not bound by an unreasoning clinging to tradition, for, though coming from a father-to-son profession, the leaders were wide in their vision and broadminded toward the future.

Young Aalto's early schooling was in this village, supplemented by lessons at home. He then went to the Technical University in Helsinki from which he was graduated in 1921 at the age of twenty-three, after having served in the war.

Finland at this time had recently won her independence, and it would have been only natural for a young architect to be overly nationalistic in his designs and attitude. The temptingly easy solution of romantic picturesqueness fortunately found no support in the most thoughtful minds of the day, among whom Aalto was an important member and leader. His work has consequently a rational quality based on Finland's own needs, and on her environmental conditions and products, which is unmistakably Finnish in spirit and background yet completely sincere and appealing. Here one will find no self-conscious "artiness" or appeal springing only from sentiment; instead

we discover honesty of approach combined with a magnificence of imagination which is bringing world renown.

His first work after completing his schooling was in connection with several exhibitions in Sweden and Finland, but after a few years he was attracting attention to himself in architectural competitions which gave to the younger generations of architects an opportunity to show their ability, for better or worse, in competition with their elders. Aalto's brilliantly conceived theories and refreshing originality and imagination won numerous awards in these, which in turn brought him private commissions. Some of his most important private jobs have come as a result of these competitions whose successful completion inspired much of the work that followed. In reviewing Aalto's work we shall best see how his personality is expressed in his architecture; we shall note how his analysis of building functions, his personal sensibilities, his concern for the people who inhabit his buildings, and his imagination all blend together in his solutions. It is through his work that he can be best explained and appreciated, far better than mere words or descriptions can reveal.

Aalto's architecture has an intensely human quality, for the occupants of a building are always his primary concern. This rational approach is welcomed when many architects still design with only the creed of Roman grandeur or forced Colonialism before them. The psychological effects, the reaction on the users, the success of the building in space—these are Aalto's determinants of design, not preconceived notions of antique magnificence and false Greek pilasters.

(Compare the architecture at Washington with its frightfully impractical, sterile conglomeration of false fronts.) He analyzes the functions of a building and wraps a protecting skin around them; he does not warp the insides into a rigid predetermined façade. His effects are not



*Aalto's Own House Near Helsinki, Presenting a Blank Wall to the North Wind and to Curious Eyes*



*In the Library at Viipuri, Cone-Shaped Holes in the Ceiling  
Let in Diffused Sunlight*

achieved at the expense of the purpose or occupants but because of them.

His architecture is never static, never monotonous, for his problems are never the same. Furthermore, in a large project of many similar buildings, Aalto will not reach one conclusion and force that on all future ones, but will constantly experiment in an effort to make each problem useful in furnishing more specific information for the problems to come, so that he can improve as he goes on. He continually studies these solutions in space to increase his practical knowledge for the future.

An illustration of this carefully evolved variety of similar solutions of a given problem can be found at the great pulp factory at Sunila which he designed a few years ago. In connection with the factory itself the owners decided to build complete facilities for housing their workers: laying out apartments, stores, and recreational facilities. Aalto's solution was a series of separate housing units built over a space of several years, so as not to put too great a financial strain on the company, and built in groups rather than in one large development. The



*Corridor End of the Library at Viipuri with a Great Window  
Looking onto the Park*

later units differ from the first. This variety is no self-conscious desire to be different, but embodies many refinements and amenities which result from extra study, omitting too the features that proved not so successful in space in the others. Each unit as it is built will thus profit from the experiences of the ones built before, lessons from actual use that are far more valuable than those acquired only on the drafting board. Each is adapted to the site. The projection of the dividing walls, for instance, repeats the verticality of the pines.\*

\* See illustrations in Mr. Smith's article in the Finland Number of the REVIEW, March, 1940.



*For the Wood Pulp Factory at Sunila Aalto's Plan Won Out  
Against Those of the Wood Pulp Engineers*

Another interesting illustration of the manner in which he ties his buildings to the nature about them is seen in his library at Viipuri, now unfortunately in Russian hands. The picture reproduced was taken down the corridor and shows the park, in which the library was set, beyond. A more classical, less imaginative architect would have walled this up except for a small window, destroying completely the sensation of openness and space that now exists. Aalto creates a delightful, ever-changing mural of nature with a spatial relationship that ties the library to the park, not isolating it from its pleasant surroundings by solid masonry walls.

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In the reading room of the same building (see illustration) he achieved great success with a unique system of lighting by holes or "ports" in the roof. These are deep enough to prevent the low Finnish sun from entering directly, but by reflecting off the sides it creates an atmosphere suffused with general illumination. Thus distracting shadows are not cast, nor are the books harmed by the direct rays of the sun. Note further the feeling of continuing space, intensified by low curtain walls and changes in level, which increase the apparent size of the room.

In presenting to the street a more or less blank façade in his own house, Architect Aalto sought to accomplish several results. First he wished to shelter the house from the cold blasts of the north wind by building it against a wall to the north and opening it to the warmth of the sun on the south. Secondly, he desired to be disturbed as little as possible by the distractions of the nearby street and so isolated himself in this way, having only a few windows for cross ventilation on the north side. Note also that he chose materials well suited to such an exposure. Insulated bricks and wood with warmth and high factor of insulation are used to withstand the severest weather, while large areas



*Even Such a Utilitarian Object as a Salt Storage Bin at Sunila  
Inspires Aalto to Original and Dynamic Treatment*



*Patients' Wing and Terraces in the Tuberculosis Sanatorium  
Near Paimio*

of glass predominate on the southern side. "Architecture," to paraphrase his own words, "should always belong to its special surroundings."

Another interesting aspect of this architecture is described by Mr. Aalto as "economic"—a word sometimes defined as "pertaining to the satisfaction of Man's needs." To him architecture does not limit itself to a profit and loss account of bricks and stones, or whether this cross-section might be cheaper to build than that one. His interpretation is

whether a building best fulfills its purposes beyond the mere requirements of protection. An example of this can be found in his tuberculosis sanatorium near Paimio, a building full of unique developments. Here are gathered together tubercular patients from all over southwest Finland, some seriously ill, others well on the road to recovery. The fresh air, the trees, and the restful quiet all help to hasten the cure, and an "economic" touch in the architecture contributes its quota in stimulating mental happiness. This is the entrance foyer through which all the patients walk several times a day, and whether it is bright or dull outside, the canary yellow floors within cannot help but rejuvenate a depressed soul. This floor must be cleaned several times a day and is more expensive in upkeep, but its added cost is well offset by its "economic" psychology. Other interesting features of this hospital are the draftless ventilation, the radiant heating panels over the beds which warm the patients yet do not heat and dry the air, the water taps in the basins that do not splash and disturb the other patients, and the subdivisions by floors of the sanatorium into smaller units so that a patient does not feel lost in so vast a building.

We have mentioned Aalto's profound examination of building design from its broad implications of psychological significance to a study of details in a hospital water basin; we have seen how he attends to the detail while examining the mass, and now we find that he is not content to let the engineer usurp his place in specialized fields, but throws himself into the design and layout of factories so satisfactorily that many of his most important commissions have been huge industrial plants and communities in which he has the complete liberty and confidence of his employers. The plant illustrated here is the tremendous wood-pulp processing factory at Sunila, whose housing for workers we have already admired. The rather lengthy story of how Aalto's scheme when presented won out over the solution advanced at first by wood-pulp engineers can be summarized by the fact that his design stands today as one of the world's model and magnificent examples of factory architecture.

One even vaguely familiar with the mysteries of architecture could not fail to be moved by this splendid group of buildings. This extraordinarily impressive and imaginative solution is laid out with such order and in such a well-conceived plan that it is a model for such plants elsewhere. Here perhaps Aalto's "architecture of use" proves itself in the most utilitarian of structures, and here also is where his genius for putting things together in an impressive way esthetically acquires itself most admirably, a brilliantly imaginative treatment of mass aligning itself with superb layout. The man is a genius.

# Greenland Weathers the Crisis

BY ESKE BRUN

*Governor of Greenland*

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION of Denmark on April 9 placed Greenland in an extremely difficult position. For an understanding of the serious problems that faced the country and will face it during the present world crisis, a few introductory remarks about its nature, topography, and resources are necessary.

Greenland is an Arctic island, lying east of the American continent, between 59 and 84 degrees north latitude, a stretch of 1,500 miles. The total area of the country is 736,518 square miles, or about one-fourth the area of the United States. Of this vast country a mere strip of land along the coast is habitable. The rest, almost 705,234 square miles, is covered by huge glaciers, the largest being the so-called Inland Ice barrier that extends from coast to coast with an average thickness of 3,000 feet. Huge masses of drifting pack-ice fill the sea along the north and east coasts, making navigation in these waters both difficult and dangerous. Habitation and colonization on a large scale is therefore possible only on the west coast where 95 per cent of the people live in small settlements.

There are no forests in Greenland. Industries as known in other countries do not exist. Agriculture is limited to sheep-raising and is confined to the southernmost part of the country where there are between seven and eight thousand head. In spite of the vastness of the country, the total population of Greenland numbers only 19,000, and of these 600 are Danes, the rest native Greenlanders. About 1,000 people live along the east coast, while the remaining 18,000 are settled on the west coast, where they wrest a living from the sea by seal-hunting and, in later years, in the southwestern part of the country, by cod-fishing.

Other natural resources of Greenland that may be mentioned are coal and the important mineral, cryolite. The coal is found in the North and mined for home consumption exclusively, while the cryolite mines are situated at Ivigtut in the southern district. This mineral is shipped abroad and plays an important part in the world production of aluminum, bringing a considerable revenue to Greenland.

The immediate consequence of these natural conditions is that Greenland must import everything she needs with the exception of what can be obtained from hunting and fishing. Greenland is therefore, perhaps

to a higher degree than any other country, dependent on trade connections with the outside world, and it is of vital importance to the island and its people that these trade channels and communication lines are kept open.

Trading in Greenland is, however, carried on under great difficulties. In order to utilize properly the natural resources of the country and avoid exploitation, the people are forced to live in small, widely separated settlements along the coast. At present there are approximately two hundred such settlements, each with an average of less than a hundred inhabitants, extending along the west coast from Cape Farewell to Thule, a distance of 1,100 miles. The largest are the colony centers, Julianehaab, Godthaab, Sukkertoppen, Egedesminde, and Jacobshavn, each with a population of between five and six hundred, while the smaller settlements often consist of only one or two families.

Weather and ice conditions together with the vast distances make the distribution of supplies to these remote places extremely difficult. But that cannot be helped. A concentration of trading activities at a few conveniently located posts would result in a migration of the Greenlanders to these centers, and the inevitable consequence would be unhealthy exploitation of the natural resources of the country.

To avoid a calamity of this nature and to protect the natives against commercial exploitation, the Danish government has taken over all trade with Greenland as a State Monopoly. It has always been the aim of this Greenland Trading Monopoly to advance the interests of the people. It has maintained a policy of very low prices on all necessities, especially things needed for the improvement of the fisheries and hunting. Consequently this particular branch of the trade, the supplying of boats and equipment, has always showed a deficit. The same line of reasoning has led the Trading Monopoly to maintain the system of buying the products of the country in as many and as widely distributed settlements as possible, although the costs incurred for transportation and personnel are considerably increased thereby.

The sad news that Denmark on April 9 had been occupied by Germans created an extremely grave situation in Greenland. The Danish government had always kept ample reserves of all kinds of commodities in stock in Greenland, and extra reserves had furthermore been shipped there during the anxious war months in the autumn of 1939. No immediate danger of a shortage in vital supplies threatened the island, and Greenland might have continued for a full year with the supplies on hand, although it would have involved severe hardships. There are, however, certain commodities, such as foods rich in vitamins, which are unable to stand storage for any long period and are neverthe-

less indispensable for life in the arctic regions, and it was therefore necessary to procure new stock of such articles. At the same time it would have been very unwise policy to use up the reserves that had been stored for the proverbial rainy day, in as much as nobody knew what the future would bring. We knew that all kinds of merchandise could be had if bought promptly, but neither we nor anyone else could foresee what unpleasant happenings the future might bring.

It was obviously impossible for Greenland to obtain any further shipments of goods from Denmark, and the only road open to the Greenland government was to seek to establish closer trading relationship with Greenland's American neighbors.

The political situation in Greenland may be briefly stated as follows. Greenland is a Danish colony. In normal times the colony is governed from Copenhagen by the Greenland Board, a department under the supervision of the Danish Ministry of the Interior. The west coast is divided into two districts, North and South Greenland. The administration in each of these districts is placed in the hands of a Governor and a District Council, a kind of parliament consisting of twelve members elected by the Greenlanders to represent the people in an advisory capacity.

When the connection with Denmark was interrupted, ways and means had to be found for the establishment of a supreme authority to take charge during the emergency. This authority, according to the Law for the Government of Greenland, is vested in the two Governors. They immediately summoned the District Councils for a joint session at Godhavn, the capital of North Greenland, for a thorough clarifying of the whole situation.

During the months of April and May the weather and ice conditions are as bad as they can possibly be. A terrible storm was raging when the members were on their way to Godhavn, but all reached their destination safely after a struggle with the elements, and the joint session of the District Councils could take place on May 3. By that time two very important things had happened. The government of the United States had asked permission to send a Consul to Greenland, and the Danish Minister in Washington, Mr. Henrik Kauffmann, had established the American Greenland Committee of friends of Greenland to assist the Greenland authorities in the execution of their duties.

The District Councils adopted three resolutions. First, they expressed their profound grief that Denmark had fallen a prey to aggression and invasion, and reiterated their oath of allegiance "to our mother country and our rightful King." And the resolution ended with the

words: "We are looking forward to the day beyond the darkness when nothing shall separate us from our King."

In the second resolution the Greenland Councils expressed their thanks to the President of the United States for the good will and interest of his country in sending a representative to Greenland.

The third and last resolution thanked the Danish Minister, His Excellency Henrik Kauffmann, for his efforts in establishing the American Greenland Committee and for the kind promise of assistance.

During the negotiations the Councils expressed their thanks to the Governors for their willingness to accept the grave responsibility of leading the country through the crisis.

The road was now open for the realization of practical steps to secure Greenland's economy and open new trade routes with the outside world. The tasks were many and complicated. New markets, new ways and means had to be found for the disposal of the various articles produced in Greenland, in as much as the income from the sale of these articles must cover the expenses in connection with the purchase of new supplies from abroad. And the Greenland Government considers it of the utmost importance for the sound economy of the country and the happiness and contentment of the Greenlanders themselves that no charity should be accepted in connection with the administration of the country. A strict adherence to this fundamental policy will therefore be observed now as well as in the future.

New supplies were to be purchased in new markets under new and different conditions. It was necessary to open an office in New York where everything concerning the trade could be properly taken care of and organized according to the new demands. The two Governors therefore agreed that one of them should assume the administration of the whole of Greenland while the other Governor, assisted by a delegation of six or seven experts, should go to New York, establish an organization to be called the Greenland Delegation for the sale of the products of Greenland and the purchase of supplies and raw materials necessary for her existence. The Delegation should at the same time endeavor to solve the innumerable questions arising out of the new situation.

We are now at the close of this year's shipping season in Greenland, and I am glad to say that the progress which the Greenland Delegation has made here in New York has been highly satisfactory. We have succeeded in establishing all the connections we need for the continuance of a normal economic life in Greenland. We have been very fortunate in finding good friends here in America, among officials and

private persons, Americans and Danes alike, and I should like here to mention Minister Henrik Kauffmann and Mr. H. Chr. Sonne, chairman of the American Greenland Committee. Everyone with whom we have had to do has helped us to make certain that the work which for two hundred years has been done in Greenland, to Denmark's honor, by Danish men and women, shall be continued without interruption. They have helped us make sure that the thread will remain unbroken until the day comes when Denmark is again free and able to continue her work in and for Greenland along the traditional lines.

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## Independent Iceland

BY THOR THORS

*Consul General of Iceland*

ICELAND HAS BEEN A FREE and sovereign State since the First of December, 1918. As all friends of the Scandinavian countries are aware, an agreement enacted by Iceland and Denmark on that date resulted in the Union between these two countries becoming a personal one, with a common King who was to act as King of Iceland in all matters concerning Iceland. According to Article 7 of the agreement, Denmark was entrusted with safeguarding Iceland's foreign affairs. The foreign affairs of Denmark and Iceland were independent of one another, but Denmark was to act as "Attorney" for Iceland, following such instructions as were received from the Government of Iceland. This state of affairs had been in force until it was abolished by *force majeure* on April 9, when Denmark was invaded.

News of the German invasion of Denmark was received in Iceland with a feeling of deep sympathy. We Icelanders know and appreciate the desire of the Danish people to live in peace and complete independence in their own country. The occupation was tragic news to us, but nevertheless, it was necessary to take definite and immediate measures in order to cope with the situation. Communications with Denmark were completely cut off. This meant that the King was no longer in a position to assume his constitutional duties with regard to Iceland. The Icelandic parliament, the Althing, convenes on February 15 each year and usually sits for approximately three months. It was, therefore, in session at the time of this historic event. As soon as the news was

received, its daily meeting was adjourned and the Government summoned a conference of all its supporters in parliament. It was unanimously agreed there that the Althing must make immediate resolutions both with regard to the execution of the royal power, which had to be performed according to the Icelandic Constitution, as well as protection of Iceland's foreign affairs. A meeting was summoned later that day in the United Althing. There the two following resolutions were passed by the vote of every member of the parliament:

*First:* Having regard to the fact that the situation created makes it impossible for His Majesty the King of Iceland to execute the Royal Power given to him under the Constitutional Act, the Icelandic parliament declares that the Ministry of Iceland is for the time being entrusted with the conduct of the said power.

*Second:* Having regard to the situation now created, Denmark is not in a position to execute the authority to take charge of the foreign affairs of Iceland granted to it by the provisions of Article 7 of the Danish-Icelandic Union Act, nor can it carry out the fishery inspection within Icelandic territorial waters in accordance with Article 8 of the same Act. Therefore, the Icelandic parliament declares that Iceland will for the time being take the entire charge of the said affairs.

In conformity with the first resolution, the Ministry of Iceland now executes the Royal Power. The present Ministry, which is a coalition Government, consists of five members and they jointly sign all acts passed by parliament before they become law. Furthermore, they execute all the power previously vested by the Constitution in the King. The signature or the approval of at least three of the Ministers is required to make the performance of the Royal Power lawful.

To safeguard her foreign affairs, Iceland has appointed Icelandic Chargés d'Affaires in London, Stockholm, and Madrid. A Consul General has been appointed to the United States, and the Icelandic Legation in Copenhagen continues to exist. The government of Sweden has graciously agreed to take charge of Iceland's representation in Germany and Italy. Icelandic honorary consuls and vice-consuls are now being appointed in the various countries in which Icelandic interests require such representatives, as for instance here in the United States. Great Britain, Denmark, and Norway are represented in Iceland by Ministers, and Sweden by a Chargé d'Affaires. The Government and people of Iceland were happy to welcome Mr. Bertel Kuniholm, the first American Consul to Iceland, who arrived in Reykjavik last May.

Although the resolutions previously mentioned were passed under trying circumstances, nevertheless they meant to the Icelandic nation

new and important steps toward our long avowed aim to take charge, on our own behalf and independently, of all our own affairs at home and abroad. Therefore a certain feeling of happiness was felt in Iceland that we had at last attained the desired goal of complete self-government and independence.

This feeling of satisfaction was suddenly dispelled when a month later, on May 10, British troops landed in Iceland and occupied the country. They maintained, however, that they came as friends in order to protect us, and we were and still are ready to believe this. In addition, they promised to depart from Iceland as soon as circumstances permitted, and we absolutely refuse to give credence to any suggestion to the contrary.

It is needless to explain that the presence of a foreign army of perhaps 60,000 to 80,000 men is inconvenient to a population of about 120,000 people. And it is useless to try to conceal the fact that daily life under such circumstances is bound to involve many difficult and delicate problems in the social and civil intercourse of the population and the soldiers. On the other hand, it would be unfair to omit mentioning that the officials of the British forces have performed their duties properly and with tact, and that the behavior of the soldiers has in most cases been faultless. The British have not interfered with the affairs of our government, and complete liberty of the press and radio is maintained. The Icelandic radio daily reports the latest news both from London and from Berlin, and a Communistic paper appears daily condemning the British cause. Nor can it be denied that the occupation has increased trade in Iceland and its demands are readily paid for in British currency. Furthermore, Iceland has been granted certain trade facilities with a view to the occupation. We hope, however, that our friends may be able to leave our country at an early date and that our normal life may again be restored.

We are looking forward to resuming our former relations of friendship and mutual understanding with the other four independent nations of Scandinavia, which we heartily wish may all soon again live in the freedom, liberty, and happiness they have proved so deserving of in the past.

# Fact and Fiction in the Norwegian War

BY EDVARD HAMBRO

*Director of the Department of International Relations, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen*

DURING A NATION-WIDE lecture tour in this country last autumn and winter, I was proud and happy to see the prevailing sympathy and admiration for Norway and the Norwegians. Norwegians were proud of the reputation they had won abroad, although some of them were sceptical and doubted whether it was all deserved. Some of the younger generation were rather impatient and did not feel at all sure that we should be able to live up to the confidence placed in us if we were forced to fight for all that we held dear. Then came the German invasion. The Norwegians had the choice between surrender and resistance to an overwhelmingly strong adversary. The choice was made without hesitation. The struggle destroyed the work of generations, and drove many of us into exile. Yet it made us feel proud, proud and ashamed at the same time. Proud of the courage that was shown everywhere, ashamed of our own doubts.

It was an enriching experience to be in Norway last spring. It was tragic and uplifting, tragic to see the cruelty and destruction of war, uplifting to witness the spirit of national solidarity and the energetic will to resist.

We lost the first part of the war, but the tales of heroism from that short struggle will be a part of the national heritage of the future. The war is not lost. Norwegians continue to fight all over the world. There is a training-camp in Scotland. The air force has a camp in Canada, where Norwegians are joining every day. And the Norwegian air force is bigger and better now than when the war started in Norway. Units of the Norwegian navy, sailing under the Norwegian flag, are fighting around the British Isles, and operating in the West Indies. The Norwegian merchant marine, one of the four largest in the world and the most modern, is carrying on under the Norwegian flag. The spirit of resistance is alive and active in Norway.

The Norwegians have fought and are still fighting to defend their liberty. For that reason it has been a violent shock to see the false picture of the Norwegian struggle created by the popular press in this

country. The German attack seems to have alienated many of our former friends just when we needed them most.

The only possible explanation is the irresponsible and sensational reporting by journalists who did not understand Norwegian, who had no knowledge of our country, and who substituted gossip and rumors for the information they could not obtain. Immeasurable damage has been done by reporters who thought the most important thing was to send off a story—no matter what—as quickly as possible. They made the story sensational enough, and they sent it quickly enough; but the picture was tragically misleading.

The most prominent of these writers is Leland Stowe, of the *Chicago Daily News*, whose report was first printed in that paper, as well as in other daily papers, and later, after being reprinted in fuller form in *Life*, found its way into a series of publications in this country. This "No. 1 journalistic hero of World War II" has presented the American public with a most amazing bouquet of false statements, incorrect information, and misleading interpretation. Many of the stories have already been contradicted, but such a work of information cannot be done too often or made too emphatic.

The stories can be roughly divided into three categories. Some of them have charged direct treason, and have told the world that Norway was actually given away to a foreign power by highly-placed Norwegian citizens. Other stories say in effect that the Norwegian resistance was so feeble that the German attack was a complete walk-over. The third group of stories gives the impression that the attitude of the people was calm and friendly, and that there was no will to fight.

All these stories have been based on rumors, which always spread like wildfire in any country where the ordinary sources of reliable information are closed.

## II

Let us first take the stories of treason and begin with Mr. Quisling, whose name has become in all the world the synonym of treason. There is no doubt that he did exist and that his party did exist. There was a little Nazi party called "National Union"—a party which had never succeeded in getting more than a small fraction of the votes necessary for even one seat in parliament, a party which had steadily decreased in numbers until in the last parliamentary election it obtained 1.83 per cent of the total vote. Major Quisling had been a major, but he resigned from the army twelve years ago. He was Minister of National Defense in the Cabinet of the Farmers' Party in 1931. Mr. Stowe

writes about this period that "Major Quisling at that time had promoted and appointed many officers—and the Socialist Government which put him out of office later had never bothered to annul these appointments."

This story is entirely wrong in every respect. Mr. Quisling was never in a position to make appointments alone. All military appointments are made according to strict rules and in full meeting of the Cabinet, under the presidency of the King. Every member of the Cabinet is personally responsible for every decision unless he dictates an objection to be entered into the protocol. This protocol is afterwards examined every year by a special parliamentary committee and all appointments are discussed. Annulments of previously made appointments are subject to similar guarantees and in practice are even more difficult. As a further proof that this story about political appointments is not true, it may be mentioned that Quisling's party did not exist at that time. Incidentally we may add that it was not a Socialist Government but a Liberal one (Venstre) that succeeded the Cabinet in which Mr. Quisling was serving.

According to the American version of the war in Norway, Mr. Quisling was not alone. An article by Mr. Maurice Feldman in *The Nation* for April 27 goes even further than Mr. Stowe, saying that "Norwegians in the highest position in the country's military and civil life deserted to the enemy. Commanders at important points, officers on the General Staff, prominent industrialists and merchants, the Rector of the Oslo University, and high church officials supported the puppet government of Mr. Quisling."

It would be interesting to know where Mr. Feldman has received this information. It is wrong in every detail. Mr. Quisling was the only instance of a well-known Norwegian who acted as a traitor—and he did not hold any official position. There was not one well-known Norwegian who deserted to the enemy. Carefully scrutinized reports from all military commanders in all parts of the country have failed to bring proof of treason against a single officer. But let us look at the only individual person mentioned by Mr. Feldman—the Rector of the University of Oslo. Dr. D. A. Seip has never been a member of Mr. Quisling's party. He has always been just the opposite of a sympathizer of national socialism. He has been a leader in the work to help the victims of national socialism.

The only possible explanation of this story is a confusion in the mind of the author. Dr. Seip was a member of the Council of Admin-

istration, and not of the Quisling "government." Mr. Quisling's first government was definitely an effort on his part to take over power with the help of the Germans. The Council of Administration was set up by the Supreme Court of Justice to counteract this government. The Council consisted of highly respected and loyal citizens who were willing to take care of the civil administration of the occupied territory. It was set up in loyalty to the King and was approved by him. The first condition for its functioning was that Mr. Quisling resign as Prime Minister.

The stories about treason among high church officials are utterly new to all Norwegians and have not an atom of truth in them. The name of Dr. Eivind Berggrav, Bishop of Oslo, has been mentioned in the American newspapers. Dr. Berggrav took no active part in what happened in Norway until the Council of Administration had been appointed by the Norwegians with the approval of the King of Norway to replace the so-called government appointed by Mr. Quisling. Then he admonished the population in the occupied area of Norway to be loyal to this Council of Administration and to commit no foolish act of sabotage that might make its position more difficult. This is the only thing that, by the wildest twist of imagination, might look like what Mr. Feldman calls deserting to the enemy and supporting the puppet government—and it shows complete lack of understanding of the actual situation.

The value of the accusations against the high officers who deserted to the enemy is best illustrated by the history of Major Hvoslef. He had for many years been a personal friend of Mr. Quisling's. He may even have believed the country needed some kind of "strong" man. When Quisling thought of forming a government years ago, Mr. Hvoslef was not wholly unwilling to serve in his cabinet. Mr. Quisling now appointed him Minister of War in his puppet government. Mr. Hvoslef, who was in Finland at the time, knew nothing of this until he came to Sweden a few days later.

Dr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting, who was then in Sweden, sent out by the Government to take charge of Norwegian interests, tells about his meeting with Major Hvoslef in his book, *I Saw It Happen in Norway*. He tells how Mr. Hvoslef refused to take part in Quisling's government, and how he declared his willingness to go across the border to Norway to be court-martialled by the Norwegians. He fought with distinction, and it was his desire to be killed in action against the Germans in order to clear his name.

The only other well-known member of Quisling's cabinet was Mr. Jonas Lie, chief of the State Police, who took exactly the same position. He knew nothing about his appointment, and when he learned of it, refused to serve with Mr. Quisling. He too fought with the Norwegian forces against the invaders. He refused to have anything to do with the Germans until after the British had evacuated southern Norway.

Mr. Hambro also tells in his book how one day he heard from a "fully reliable source" about a certain officer who had been shot for treason. The next day this officer came to the Legation in Stockholm to see Mr. Hambro. He was on his way from the south of Norway to continue the fight in the North. Mr. Hambro met him again in the last days of the war in the north of Norway and he repeats the last remark from this officer: "Could anything more perfect be imagined than shooting Germans in the full beauty of the midnight sun?"

Finally, there have been some rumors abroad about treason in the southeastern part of Norway. The Swedish newspapers in which these stories had been printed published a public apology for the unfounded reports, after they had received an explanation from the General in command of this part of the army.

Not even the officers whom Mr. Quisling had appointed as his immediate collaborators were willing to betray their country and serve the new government. This alone ought to be sufficient proof against the unfounded rumors of treason among high officers in Norway. It is a plausible guess—to say the least—that Quisling had picked the most "reliable" of his adherents as cabinet ministers, but even these refused to serve him.

The story is much the same as far as other prominent men are concerned. It was impossible for the Germans to form any government with the collaboration of any of the political parties. It was impossible for them to call a session of the Storting. It was impossible to call a general election in Norway.

When Mr. Quisling first "took over the government," he called a meeting in Oslo of the most prominent men in industrial and commercial life to discuss the situation. Not one man came to the meeting, but they sent a delegation to the German Legation to explain that there might be fighting in the streets of Oslo if Quisling and his little gang of followers did not disappear.

There is only one more instance worth mentioning in this connection. That is the following phrase in the *Atlantic* for July, among other statements concerning Nazi infiltration: "Some, like Major Spendler,

who was attached to King Haakon's entourage, had to be absolute charmers." It is fairly vague to say that this major was attached to King Haakon's entourage, but one might assume that anyone attached to the Norwegian King must be a Norwegian officer. However, there has never been an officer of any rank in Norway of that name.

### III

Let us now turn to the military side of the war in Norway and see what actually happened and how many of the rumors are true.

Mr. Ferdinand Tuohy said in the above mentioned article in the *Atlantic* that the "wonderfully timed operation was flawless and the Nazi vanguard walked joyously in, protected by the glaring menace of German airplanes."

The first part of that statement is only too tragically true. The German attack was well planned and well timed. It had been planned for years. Information had been collected and sifted. In the very last few days before the attack took place, boats had come into the Norwegian harbors with double crews and probably also with oil, ammunition, and provisions.

Americans have wondered how it was possible for those ships to be there, and it has been suggested that this was due to treason on the part of the Norwegian navy and the customs authorities. It must be remembered that ships of every nation have the right to "innocent passage" through neutral territorial waters. The German government had asked to be allowed to send a double crew on all boats to Norway in order to be able to do the loading as quickly as possible, the cargoes being vitally needed for Germany and some of them being perishable, such as fish.

This is the explanation of the fact that so many ships and so many Germans were in Norwegian ports. The above mentioned article in the *Atlantic* seems unaware of this fact, and adds that "the case of the *Altmark* was an eye opener." This also shows misunderstanding of the *Altmark* incident. Not only Norwegians but the best American authorities on International Law have said that the attitude of the Norwegian Government was perfectly correct. (See an article by Professor E. M. Borchard in the last volume of *The American Journal of International Law*, pp. 289 ff.)

The first thing the Germans and their helpers did in Oslo was to take over the only national broadcasting station and send out fake orders to the effect that there was to be no mobilization and that all the country should keep calm. The attack was so quick and such a complete surprise that the Germans got hold of the most important military

depots as well as the armament factories and munition plants. Under these circumstances it was almost a miracle that any resistance at all could be offered, and yet the Norwegian army, badly equipped, poorly armed, and almost wholly untrained, put up a gallant resistance against the best equipped and best trained army of history. The little Norwegian navy was wonderful, and the crippled air force worked miracles. The Norwegians—fighting against these overwhelming odds—resisted so vigorously that the Germans suffered a loss estimated as 72,000 tons of their naval vessels and 65,000 men. Norway fought longer than any other country invaded by the Germans.

There is absolutely no foundation whatsoever for Mr. Nickerson's statement in *Harper's Magazine* for August that the Norwegian resistance was so feeble that the Germans could paralyze the whole country with the exception of the district around Narvik. It is the direct opposite of the truth when it is claimed that the Allies were able to get the upper hand at Narvik until the Norwegians surrendered in June. The Norwegians played the most important part on the Narvik front, helped by the Allies. The Norwegians did not give up as long as there was any hope. The Allied troops were ordered back when the disaster in Flanders was imminent, but they left Norway against the wishes of the Norwegians. The Norwegian army did not surrender and has not given up the fight yet, but we had to stop military operations in Norway when the army had ammunition left for only one day.

Mr. Leland Stowe tells how the Germans succeeded in piercing the "gigantic fortifications of the Oslofjord" after these had been made useless by the help of bribery, treason, and betrayal. He tells also that the electric mines had been disconnected, but he fails to bring any evidence to support this tale. The fact is that there were no electric mines in the Oslofjord, and it was no part of the defense plan to have them, so they could not very well have been disconnected. Moreover, these fortifications are far from gigantic. How could any fortifications in Norway be gigantic when the country in the five years from 1933 to 1938 had never spent more than between ten and twelve million dollars annually for the entire national defense? Apart from that, the story is also false from all other angles.

Not one German ship succeeded in passing the fortifications of the Oslofjord that first night or the following days. The batteries at Rauer fought on till they were attacked from the rear. The other coastal batteries in the outer Oslofjord, Bolaerne, kept on firing as long as there was a round of ammunition left. Oscarsborg, in the middle of the fjord, destroyed the battleship *Gneisenau* and the cruiser *Blücher* before the Germans gave up trying to force a passage and landed their troops

farther out in the fjord. Oscarsborg, like Rauer, was later taken from the land side. The Norwegians also put up a vigorous fight in Kristiansand, Bergen, Trondheim, and Narvik.

It reveals Mr. Stowe's unfamiliarity with conditions in Norway when he calls Trondheim the country's biggest city. Oslo is five times as large and Bergen double the size. It is not true that the fortresses at Trondheim were very strong. Husnes, which Mr. Stowe thinks is the strongest of them all, actually lies 100 miles farther to the south. The guns at Agdenes, which really is the fortress at the entrance to the Trondheimfjord, dated from the year 1900 and they had no air raid shelter or any other protection. In spite of that, the fortress fought for eleven hours and surrendered only when it was attacked from the land side. The fort at Hegra, which had no garrison since 1933, put up a heroic fight. Mr. Wilhelm Morgenstierne, Norwegian Minister to the United States, gives the following account of this fight:

"A strange story was also told about the little fortress of Hegra. It was related that the commander had ordered its surrender but that a young lieutenant threatened to shoot the first man who left the fort.

"This report is not borne out in fact. The Hegra fort was built to protect Norway from a possible attack from the east. Since 1933 it had contained no garrison, but when the German invasion occurred, Major Holtermann gathered some 190 volunteers and took up position in the old fort which had only ten small cannon, fifteen machine guns, and no anti-aircraft guns. This tiny garrison held the fortress against vastly superior German forces from April 9 to May 4, the day after the Allied forces had been withdrawn from southern Norway."

Mr. Stowe also relates that the strong fortresses of Kongsvinger and Sarpsborg were surrendered by treason. The fact is that the Kongsvinger fortress had been dismantled in 1905 and belongs to the demilitarized zone between Norway and Sweden. In Sarpsborg there has been no fortress for several hundred years. He tells also that Mr. Sundlo "handed the port and the garrison at Narvik over to the Germans." The fact is that there was a violent naval battle in Narvik before the port fell into the hands of the Germans. There was no garrison in the town, and Colonel Sundlo was taken prisoner without any fight. He was under suspicion because he belonged to Mr. Quisling's party. His decision to give up against the overwhelming odds has been criticized, but no treason or disloyalty has been proved.

#### IV

Let us now look at the general impression of Mr. Stowe who claims that the young men of Oslo did not react at all and that only five per

cent of them tried to join the troops. This is in no way borne out by facts. Other neutral observers who were in Oslo at the time have quite another story to tell. Both Mr. Reidar Claffy in a news letter sent out by the American-Scandinavian Foundation and Mr. Robert W. Bean in the Autumn issue of the AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW can tell about the intense excitement and deep resentment felt in Oslo and of the exodus of young men, especially students, who got out of Oslo and joined the army, although the Germans had proclaimed the death penalty for every man of military age caught trying to leave the city.

A few lines from a report by General Ruge, Commander in Chief of the Norwegian army, may serve as an illustration: "From Oslo, for

instance, came hundreds of men who could not mobilize because the Germans held Oslo. They gathered around some leader and became a 'company'; they met other groups of the same kind and became a 'battalion' under the command of some officer. . . . The so-called Sörkedal Ski Company consisted of men who had escaped from Oslo and met in the ski hills in Nordmarka outside the city, and who turned up as a fighting unit thoroughly welded together."

I managed to get out of Bergen and to travel all over the western part of the country, first to the Norwegian western headquarters at Voss, later to the British

A black and white portrait of General Otto Ruge. He is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark military uniform with a high standing collar. On the collar, there are two white chevrons, indicating the rank of general. He is also wearing a dark peaked cap. His hair is thinning on top and appears to be receding. He is looking slightly to his right with a serious expression.

headquarters at Aandalsnes. Everywhere I met people who tried to fight. They came on bicycles and on skis, or they marched on their feet. Many of them had walked for hundreds of miles to reach a fighting unit. I met not only young men, but also courageous young girls who offered to cook for the soldiers. I saw old men coming to ask whether they could be of any use, and old women who stayed at their post in spite of all bombing and machine-gunning.

I was not in Oslo, and I have not been in Oslo since the war started. I am not an eye witness as far as the capital of the country is concerned, and still I venture to say that the report by Leland Stowe is wrong. For one thing, I cannot believe that the youth of Oslo should be so much worse than the youth of other Norwegian cities. The decisive argument, however, is that I met so many of my old friends from Oslo. It is true that they alone do not form any great percentage of the population of the city, but I do not flatter myself that I and my friends are so much better patriots and so much more courageous than most people from Oslo. It is certainly true that many people were stuck and did not succeed in getting through the German lines. They were in despair about it, and hated to be inactive. I know that from personal observation. I left some such people behind when I escaped from Bergen. I should have liked to take with me some of my friends who wanted to go, but I did not deem it advisable; I thought it would be difficult enough even if I were alone. But though I left the city alone, I was joined by several friends as soon as I had got through the German lines.

It was, therefore, very astonishing—to say the least—to read in the above mentioned article in *Harper's Magazine* that "Most of the Norwegian reservists did not answer the call to the colors." This statement—as is shown by the above report—has not a grain of truth in it. It is incredible that such a thing could be published.

It is possible that Mr. Stowe did not find much indignation in the bars and restaurants of Oslo. Norwegians do not generally gather over their drinks to show their indignation. It may also be true that amazement mixed with curiosity was the first reaction. That, after all, is fairly natural when the capital of a country is taken by an enemy over night. But if this journalist had bothered to study the history and literature of the country before he told the world all about it, if he had been able to understand the language and interpret it the right way, if he had even gone around in other parts of the city, he might have gathered a different impression.

It has been the pride of Norwegians since the time of the sagas not to show their feelings too easily, and it has been their habit to die with a joke on their lips. Their special sense of humor, a bit dry and grim perhaps, has always played in moments of danger. Their "gallows humor" is hard for an outsider to understand. The classic example of this is the story told of the greatest Norwegian sea hero of modern times: "Everything's going fine," said Tordenskjold—he had one soldier left, and he sat and cried." The same spirit found expression during this war. "This is too good to be true," said the Norwegians with dark despair in their hearts.

It is not true that the Norwegians were indifferent. It is not true that they welcomed the Germans or were on friendly terms with them. No German has been treated as a friend since the invasion. The Norway of last spring and summer was a united Norway imbued with the spirit of independence and resistance. No one should be allowed to create any other impression. People who do this are helping the Germans in their efforts to destroy the inner front of the democracies. The only effective fight against this kind of propaganda is to spread the truth.

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## Royal Fugitives

**A**YEAR AGO last July Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Märtha sailed for home, radiantly happy in the success of their American trip and in the prospect of soon seeing their children again. Among the many homes in Norway that have been disrupted by the invasion is that of the royal pair. With their children they fled along the bombed country roads in Norway, and the Crown Princess with her three children escaped to Sweden, where she took refuge with her parents, Prince Carl and Princess Ingeborg. After a while, even Sweden was not considered safe from possible kidnappers, and in August the Crown Princess returned to New York as a fugitive. She came from Petsamo on the United States Army Transport *American Legion*. She asked that all ceremonies of greeting be omitted, and her first act when she had entered her suite at the Waldorf-Astoria was to telephone to London to the Crown Prince whom she had not seen since they parted in Norway April 10. After a short visit at the home of the President at Hyde Park, Crown Princess Märtha with her children and attendants lived for the summer in a house on Cape Cod that was put at her disposal by Mr. and Mrs. Frederic Schaefer. She has now taken a house in Washington where she will make her home for the present.



*Wide World Photos*

*Crown Princess Märtha and Her Children in New York. Seated on the Floor Are Princess Astrid and Princess Ragnhild. Prince Harald, Aged Three, Is on His Mother's Lap*

## American Help to Finland

**F**INLAND'S NEED of assistance is still very great. According to Minister Procopé, there are about 300,000 people in the country who have lost their homes in the invasion or are evacuated from the ceded territory. These people lack almost everything. Relief workers point out that Finland is the only one of the suffering countries which can be aided without any danger that the gifts may fall into the hands of an aggressor. Mr. A. Marcus Tollett, a representative of the Finnish government now in this country, has written an article in the *New York Times* for October 15 in which he recounts what America has already done for Finland and shows how well the funds have been used. He writes:

American help has been a mighty factor in keeping Finland alive since the end of the Russian war. This help has come from two sources and in two forms. The first source is the \$30,000,000 authorized by Congress last winter for loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, of which \$18,000,000 has already been spent for the purchase of American products other than armaments. The second is the \$3,480,000 raised in this country by the Finnish Relief Fund, Inc., under the chairmanship of former President Herbert Hoover, with contributions from thousands of individual Americans.

Finnish authorities state frankly that American supplies, material and medical, have helped to save their country from widespread destitution, hunger and death in the aftermath of the Finnish-Russian struggle. Every corner of Finland has been benefited by them; every section of the population is said to be grateful to the United States government, and to Mr. Hoover and his American contributors.

The Congressional fund, to begin with, has enabled Finland to buy commodities here which might otherwise have been unobtainable because of the British and German blockades. Every ten days, on the average, a ship from the New World has unloaded the proceeds of the Congressional fund at Petsamo, the little Arctic port which is now Finland's only dependable inlet for ocean-borne supplies. From Petsamo the American cargoes have been carried southward by trucks across the Arctic highway to the once-flourishing cities and towns that were ravaged in the winter war.

Among foodstuffs, Finland's chief requirements here have been lard, grain, dried fruit and peas and soya beans for feeding the Finnish people and their livestock. Cotton has been shipped in large quantities so that the looms of Finland's textile mills could operate once more.

Among industrial products, trucks and tractors represent by far the largest shipments, together with spare parts and tools. Other items in the \$18,000,000 worth of supplies already purchased include factory machinery, tin and steel plate, telephone wire, radio sets and tubes, tobacco, chemicals, fire hose, cotton duck, medicines, and medical equipment. Purchases are still being made with the \$12,000,000 remaining and will continue to be shipped as long as there is a Finnish port to receive and handle them.

More direct and personal help to individuals in Finland has come from the Hoover Fund. . . .

Help from the Hoover Fund was restricted to evacuees, civilian victims of air raids, and families of disabled soldiers. If it had not been for relief contributions from abroad "the position of evacuees and other civilians in distress would have become unendurable," according to former Premier Aimo Cajander.

Work directly connected with Finland's defense, with the relief and medical care of soldiers, was rigorously excluded; ordinary poor relief was also entirely outside the program. The chief objects of the relief administration were first aid to the sick or injured, rehabilitation of families that had been uprooted from their homes in the areas ceded to Russia, sanitary and medical care of those in need, and moral and spiritual help of many kinds.

Altogether, more than 400,000 persons were helped financially by funds collected in the United States, each receiving on an average about \$5. About 55 per cent of those receiving such help were children under fifteen, in accordance with the wish expressed by the American committee. The wish was wise, as the young in Finland were the most numerous sufferers.

In the lonely rural districts of Northern Finland no less than 46 per cent of the evacuated children were found to be ill, and in one district the mortality among these transplanted youngsters was fourteen times higher than among local children.

Thanks to the Hoover Fund, traveling "children's clinics" have toured every part of the country; midwives tended expectant mothers among the evacuees, and many temporary maternity hospitals were opened, as well as wards for children and consumptives. Hospital cottages maintained by the Fund had beds for 3,725 patients; allotment gardens were purchased for 2,000 families of killed or wounded soldiers; small libraries were established for the refugees, and Christian welfare work was begun among the young people who had lost their homes.

The committee's workers have reported much hardship among the 90,000 evacuees who were able to return to the places in the battle zone where their homes had stood. Some of these families, it is reported, are now living in huts made of twigs and branches, some in caves and hollows.

"On my travels," said one of the Fund's inspectors, "I found that in many evacuee homes there were no real beds, but straw mattresses made of sackcloth were placed in the corners of the rooms. There was a great need for pillows and blankets; one family of nine had only one quilt and one blanket. In another home seven children had only one blanket among them."

"When I asked the mother how the children managed with only one cover, she replied smilingly that they use it in turn, so that the one who felt coldest was allowed to use it for a while, then it was taken over by the next, and so on."

In a radio talk before leaving Finland in August, Robert Maverick, who acted as Mr. Hoover's personal representative there, said that "everywhere the emergency was being met with courage and determination, and a fine spirit of mutual helpfulness was being shown by all the Finns from high officials down to little children."

But relief work will have to be intensified this fall and winter, for it is feared that a second "war winter," with drastically reduced food rations, will lead to under-nourishment and widespread disease, especially among children.

# Spring in Denmark 1940

*A Personal Narrative*

BY MARGRETE SPRENGHEST

**O**N THE FIRST of September last year, when the German troops invaded Poland and bombed Warsaw, when Europe's long-suffering took definite form, I travelled across the fertile islands of Denmark.

The autumn sun, the warm haze, the chrome yellow of the harvested fields, the dark green foliage that seemed to weigh down the trees now that their summer was fulfilled; the grazing cows and the slow working rhythm of the men and women stacking up the corn—a stillness, a ripeness, a peace beyond words.

A charming land  
with lakes and woods and gardens, houses  
swathed in the sunlight and in autumn  
sheen,  
peacefully fertile  
as were it paradise.

Ah, what a morning! Dew of September, sungolden, wet . . . The apples are so red! . . . And from a radio a voice announcing the fall of bombs, the first ones to be killed . . .

The hens are cackling in the henyard, a tractor humming, threshing what was reaped . . .  
And somewhere else  
an anxious listening to the sky  
as blue as here . . . a land like this!  
Another dark green forest, another sunlit plain.\*

"It has come, it has come." The train seemed to sing out the thought that was

haunting my brain. I looked at my friends with whom I was travelling, and I saw that the beauty of the land and the horror in their thoughts were fused into a never-to-be-forgotten understanding of the day and the months that were to come, for us, for Europe, for humanity.

All winter the war lay like a frozen crescent around Denmark, from England, France, and Germany to Russia and Finland. Several times it looked as though the circle would be completed in the north and Scandinavia turned into a battlefield. The winter itself was longer and more arctic than ever. All waters froze, and week after week the snow fell with a dreamlike fatality.

They were fighting in Finland, Russians and Finns dying under the snow. Would it also bury us some day? As a part of Europe, Denmark was carrying its share of the burden. But would we, in spite of our will to neutrality and peace, be forced into the mad game, on one side or the other? Would the snow never melt, would it never be spring again? In late March the ice began to break up in torrents of rain. The drifting ice floes tore up the mine fields, and the frozen waters were turned into a nightmare of danger.

On April 9 the Danes woke up to the first sunny day of spring—and to the sound of German bombing planes.

Since the outbreak of the war had stopped European air routes, the sound of airplanes had become rare. But on that morning, just as I had come to consciousness of the sun that was shining into my room, the roar of motors made me jump out of bed and look up. Right over the

\* Translated from a poem by Harald Herdal, "Septembermorgen," in *Politiken*, September 1939.

house, so low that I thought it would touch the chimney, I saw a dark grey monster of an airplane, a bird straight out of hell. What did this mean?

A few minutes later there was a knock at the door, and the trembling voice of our neighbor's wife, "The German troops took possession of Denmark early this morning. They may be here any minute. They are fighting in Norway."

Although I had expected it ever since Hitler went into power in 1933, it was almost impossible to grasp now that it had really happened. She had to repeat it before I could believe her. Denmark, which had never been governed by strangers, had fallen into Hitler's hands over night. We damned him in unison, passed a few melancholy jokes about our valuable non-aggression pact with Germany, and started on the job of burning everything of the kind that can only be preserved in a civilization where the privacy of the home is recognized.

Now and then the sound of a motor made me look out of the window, expecting to see the long column of troops, but so far I saw only the fertile land lying in suspense between the plowing and the planting. A tractor was smoothing its dark brown surface. There again was that same stillness and peace, come back to underscore the event of the day.

The day before, German battleships and transports had been observed moving north through the Danish sounds. No official news was sent out about this, but as the rumors spread in Copenhagen, the tension grew stronger and stronger. The Foreign Minister, Dr. P. Munch, was in touch with the German Ambassador every hour until 11 P.M. Every time he was assured that Germany had no intention of touching Denmark.

Five hours later, just before dawn, German troops were landed in Gedser, Korsör, Nyborg, Fredericia, Esbjerg, and Frederikshavn; Copenhagen was full of

troops, nobody knew whence they had come, and numerous airplanes kept circling over the city. German machine guns were put up in the squares, the harbors, and the railway stations of Copenhagen and other cities; bridges were fortified and guarded, and only German troops were permitted to pass over them; the radio, the telephone, and the telegraph were controlled by the Germans.

At the border in Slesvig fighting was going on. It is said that about 200 Germans and something like 29 Danes were killed before an agreement could be established between the German Ambassador and the Danish Government. For once the Germans had made a mistake in their calculations: the troops that were to march across the border counted on daylight saving time, while the others operated on standard time. Consequently they got there an hour too early, and the Danish troops whose duty it was to defend the border fought until they received orders from Copenhagen, an hour later, that they were to offer no resistance.

The attack came so suddenly that at the only big military airfield, Vejrlöse, north of Copenhagen, where most of the Danish warplanes were collected, only one plane succeeded in leaving the ground. It was shot down at once, and the Germans gathered all the airplanes in the center of the field and burnt them.

A young man who was a soldier at the time of the invasion, and who was dismissed and sent home with the rest of the army, told me about his experiences. Ammunition had been handed out to the soldiers on April 8; something was going to happen. The colonel at the barracks telephoned to headquarters to ask if anything further should be done, if he were to send troops to the coast. He received the answer that nothing further should be done. The soldiers went to bed, but before dawn they were called and sent out west of the town with their machine guns,

rifles, and hand grenades. The German troops had landed. But before the two armies met, orders came from Copenhagen that there was to be no fighting, they were to return to their barracks. Soon after their return, the German motorized troops arrived. The Danish colonel was ordered out into the courtyard of the barracks, with two rifles poking him in the back. The Danish soldiers were lined up against a wall, machine guns aimed at them, and the colonel, still with the rifles in his back, had to command the men to lay down their arms.

Nobody understood how so many German troops could shoot up out of the ground in Copenhagen, like mushrooms, for of course there were minefields outside the harbor. But the troops were there, and their commanders were there. Those of my friends who lived in the city, and who saw the German troops that morning, were surprised to see that they looked more like negroes than people whose official hankering is to be of the Nordic type. They were black from their helmets to their heavy boots.

The explanation was that a few days earlier five big German coal ships had been brought into the harbor by Danish pilots. For months German submarines and, later on, the ice had prevented us from getting coal from England. Here at long last were five big ships with coal heaped high on every deck. But below the decks were the German soldiers, and that is how they got into the harbor without being blown up by the mines. The commanders had been living in Copenhagen hotels for several weeks, under assumed names, of course, and as civilians.

While negotiations were going on in Copenhagen between the German Ambassador and the Danish King and Government, German bombing planes kept circling over the city, throwing down a proclamation in thousands of copies, printed on green paper in the strangest

language imaginable, a hodge-podge of Danish, Norwegian, and German. The meaning, however, was clear enough and typical of what we had heard about the "peaceful penetration" of the Nazis: *Any resistance will be beaten down with all means.* The means were there to be seen by everybody, right overhead.

With the Danish airplanes destroyed, the harbors in German possession, the country divided by water as it is, the city full of troops and guns—there was only one thing for the Danish King and Government to do: protest, and give in. Anything else would have meant complete destruction in a few hours.

In the agreement that was set up, Germany guaranteed that Denmark would not be used as a base for attack on England; she guaranteed Denmark full economic and political freedom, and withdrawal of the German troops when the war is over.

We Danes read this and we heard it being repeated all day over the radio, and we remembered, and smiled as we had smiled about a year earlier when the pact of non-aggression with Germany had been signed. Article 1 of this pact reads: "The German Reich and the Kingdom of Denmark will under no circumstances resort to war or any other form of violence against each other."

The German high command sent out immediate orders that no Danish boats were to leave the harbors where they were, and all communication between the various parts of the country was cut off. The only traffic was the perpetual stream of German troops that covered the main roads to Copenhagen and up through Jutland like a grey-green band of men, motor cars, and covered wagons.

For days nobody knew what had happened in other parts of the country. Everybody worried about everybody else. The fear that haunted us was that we and our immediate surroundings might be the

only ones that the furious gods had spared. We knew what had happened earlier in Austria and Czechoslovakia, and we expected calmly that death or concentration camp might be the price we would have to pay now for a conviction that was unshakable. But the uncertainty concerning friends and relatives from whom we were completely cut off was almost unbearable.

During the first seven months of the war Denmark had used half a million kroner a day on the army that was to protect our neutrality. (The normal State budget amounts to less than five hundred millions a year.) Still it was and would always be like a child's toy compared to the German war machine.

On the ship coming to America I met an American journalist who had been living in Europe for a number of years. "I believe that civilization has reached a higher level in Sweden and Denmark than any other place in the world," he said, "but people here have grown too civilized to fight," and judging from the tone of his voice he meant it as a criticism. Whether it was civilization or simply using common sense, at any rate most Danes understood that those things which have special value for us as Danes cannot be defended with weapons, but only by perseverance and holding together.

Perhaps democracy and freedom had advanced further in Scandinavia than in other places. As a result of this, Denmark was a country of many individual opinions and much discussion and criticism. But on the day of the invasion all criticism was suddenly directed toward a new and common target, the invaders. There was no other subject worth discussing, and some of us discovered what it means to belong to a nation that has known freedom for centuries. The population became friends overnight.

We also discovered the value of belonging to a people that has a sense of humor. The Danish smile is something that our more serious neighbors to the south have often found very irritating. Everybody's sense of humor seemed to be alive; I felt it in strangers, I felt it in my friends, and I felt it in myself. All winter long the mind had been frozen in uncertainty. Now that the long awaited crisis was at last here, it became intensely active.

On that first morning I had an errand at the bank; the cashier's face was one broad smile. "You smile," I said, "is there any reason today?" He looked at me, he had evidently been quite unconscious of his face. "The Danish smile," he said, "at least no one can take that away from us!"

Here and there one saw notices posted up, warning people against spreading rumors. A member of the German high command had, in an interview, emphasized this warning, and had added: "The Danes shouldn't talk about what is going on in this country, because they know nothing." A workingman told me that he had seen this in his paper. "When I read it I ran straight to my wife and said, 'There is one true word in the paper today!'"

But it wasn't every day this compliment was paid to the press. On the whole, the news man in one of the main streets of Copenhagen hit the nail on the head when he went around selling the afternoon paper, and shouted, "B.T.—five pages of lies, three of advertisements." For a few days he delighted the passers-by, then he was stopped, unfortunately, and lost his job. But he must have felt great satisfaction and can forever after consider himself a hero.

Two subjects lay heavy on our minds, and no smile helped us over them: the fact that Denmark was being used as a war base against Norway, our nearest of kin, and the question of the safety of individuals, not least the German and Czech refugees.

Some Danes were arrested during the early morning hours after the invasion, among them a newspaper editor who had been particularly outspoken in his expression of anti-Nazi ideas. He was taken to Hamburg, where he was imprisoned for several weeks, until his physical strength and his urge to write were broken.

The headquarters of the Social-Democratic party (the Government party) were searched, and the secretary arrested. Later in the day the Germans came back and apologized—it was a mistake, they said, they had been looking for the refugees' headquarters. By a "mistake" of this kind two birds can sometimes be killed with one stone. But the refugees' headquarters had also made a "mistake" that morning and had used their files as kindling.

German authorities had issued a solemn guarantee that no Danish citizen would be interfered with without the concurrence of the Danish police. Very soon a Danish citizen experienced the value of this solemn guarantee. One evening he went down to mail a letter in the corner post box. When he saw that a number of German soldiers were loitering on the corner he turned around and walked back without mailing his letter. For some reason, a couple of the soldiers started to walk after him, and being a very nervous person he proceeded to run. The soldiers ran after him, knocked him down, and broke two of his fingers. When the man went to the police and wanted to bring an action against the soldiers who had broken his fingers, he was told that of course he had a legal right to do so, but it would be very foolish of him. He would have absolutely no chance of winning a case against any German.

On the morning of the invasion, while the Germans were still very busy, several refugees were helped to cross over to Sweden from Copenhagen and Elsinore. But what about the hundreds who didn't

get out and who were now even more outlawed than ever before? Nobody had anything to tell about the refugees; it was a subject about which no one dared correspond or talk openly. Whatever was to be done for them had to be done in dead silence, for we all knew that to help them was the cardinal sin for which the invaders knew no pardon.

A very good friend of mine was a refugee. His fate had been my first thought when I heard of the German invasion on April 9. As days and weeks passed, and I heard nothing from him or about him, my concern grew to grave misgivings. He seemed to have vanished from the surface of the earth.

One morning, nearly a month after the invasion, I happened to meet a mutual friend. In his kitchen, where no one could overhear our whispered conversation, I found out that my friend had been living in hiding since the invasion, and that very day he would risk his life trying to reach Sweden. In the dark of the previous night he had gone on board a fishing smack and hidden in the hold under the pile of nets. The fisherman would go fishing all day, or perhaps for several days if necessary, until some night my friend might have the chance to row ashore in Sweden.

The Danish coast was closely guarded by German sentinels and was patrolled by German flyers dropping lightbombs. The death penalty had been abolished long ago in Denmark, but the invaders revived it as a punishment for fleeing across the Sound to Sweden. His attempt looked to me like certain death, but he succeeded.

Little by little, I met other mutual acquaintances who had helped him on his way, and out of the details I was able to build up a picture of the whole, of his route to the coast, his difficulties, and of himself—a tremendous evoking of the will-to-live and of wise calculation.

One thing is certain, that the German advance has come about not through any

enthusiasm among the soldiers, but only through the efficiency which in the German army has developed into that most inhuman curse: discipline. Whenever Danes got to talking with the German privates, it was perfectly clear that they were fed up with their Führer's adventure; they were tired of being eternally shifted from company to company, which prevented them from making friends; they were disheartened because they had not had home leave for two or three years. Three privates were holding forth in a shop somewhere in Jutland where they had gone in to buy some chocolate, a delicacy they hadn't tasted for years. "Der Kerl (which meant Hitler, the German godhead!) has promised that the war will be over by the first of July. Well, we'll give him an extra month, but after the first of August we're through!" When the shopkeeper reminded them that they themselves had voted him into his position, they all shook their heads and waved their arms: "Nein, nein! Nur vierzig Prozent!" (No, no, only forty per cent.)

Many of the German soldiers who were landed in Denmark on April 9 didn't even know what country they had come to. Others believed—as the mass of the German people still believe—that Denmark had asked for help. When they were to be shipped off to Norway by boat or by airplane, they were horrified. Some committed suicide, whole companies refused to go. When this happened, every fifth man was shot down, and between the fear of dying tomorrow or this minute, the latter was the stronger, and discipline was again re-established. They didn't know what was going on in Norway, but they saw the dead bodies, dressed in uniforms like their own, come drifting in to the otherwise so peaceful shores of Denmark, and they understood that thousands of their comrades had not even reached Norway.

The German invaders came to a land of plenty, and there is no doubt that this

was one of the chief reasons for the invasion. They needed the Danish food. On the evening of April 9 a German soldier was interviewed in a German radio broadcast. "Now Fritz, tell us, what are your impressions of today when you arrived in Denmark with the troops of the Third Reich?" Overwhelmed by the situation, Fritz could only talk about the one great event: "*Heute haben wir Eier gehabt!*" (Today we've had eggs.)

Due to the lack of gasoline and electric power, the use of private automobiles has been prohibited and the number of buses and trolley cars much reduced. Horses have come into their own again, you see them harnessed even in fours to motor trucks, and cyclists are more numerous than ever. Train and boat traffic has been cut down to half, and speed reduced to save fuel.

Life in the capital has become difficult. But worst of all is the blackout, which was put in force at once to protect our "protectors." During the light summer nights it doesn't matter, but in April and May when the nights were dark and automobile traffic had not yet been cut down to a minimum, pedestrians would do best to stay at home.

Once only did I venture out. I had a long distance to go by trolley from one of the suburbs. The trolley car was dimly lit by a few dark blue bulbs that made all the passengers look like corpses. Depressed by the darkness, or in order to act the part, they were all silent and grave. The woolen curtains of the car, which used to impress American tourists by their immaculate whiteness, had been dyed dark red and were drawn so no light could be seen from the outside. I peeped out to see where we were, but the street was pitch black, and the somber hearse bumped on and on. Finally I discovered that I had gone to the opposite outskirts of the city, and I got off, to find myself on a landing in the midst of a wide boulevard. I had

to cross over to the sidewalk, and that is the most dangerous thing I have ever done! Dim purple lights came sliding toward me from all directions. I knew that each of them had two trolley cars behind it. Two almost invisible lights at a certain distance from each other and from the ground meant an automobile, and that night there seemed to be all too many of them. Bicycles whizzed past me, some using a furious bell, others a furious voice: "For goodness' sake, stay on the sidewalk!"

Every large building has an air raid shelter in the cellar. The heavy encasements of stones between a double layer of boards that protect the basement windows protrude onto all sidewalks. They are painted white like all other points that would otherwise be a danger during the blackout, curbs, steps, posts. Museums and precious pieces of outdoor sculpture are more or less covered by piles of sandbags. Open squares and old cemeteries around churches have been made into bombproof trenches. Wherever the inhabitants look they see these wounds and blemishes on their beautiful city, and they probably remember Holberg, the founder of the Danish drama, who wrote in his *Epistolae* about the heavenly wisdom of not having humans granted the faculty of flying, for could men fly they would immediately be transformed into birds of prey and come swooping down upon each other from the nearest mountain top, which would result in the inhuman condition that men would have to dig holes in the ground in order to seek protection against attacks from the air. As it happened, the first bombproof shelter in Copenhagen was made on the very spot where Holberg used to live.

On the roof of the big hotel where the German high command set up their headquarters waves a swastika flanked by two Danish flags. It is one of life's little

ironies that the name of the hotel is d'Angleterre. In front of the hotel a line of dark grey military cars is drawn up, under armed guard, and in the center of the old square the flower beds have had to give way to a mess of trenches. But on the opposite side stands the Royal Theater, an old, still living symbol of some of the best traditions in Danish intellectual life, in drama, ballet, and music. Outside its entrance are statues of Holberg, the humorist, and Oehlenschläger, the poet; in the lobby inside stand Ewald, the poet, and Wessel, the humorist. Where in this country could stodgy solemnity and stupid hardness ever find a place?

The whole appearance of Copenhagen is changed. The old charm and ease have vanished. The omnipresence of foreign soldiers and officers has subdued the voices and the gaiety and made pedestrians in the streets look straight ahead as though they had their eyes fixed on a distant goal. If the German soldiers and officers had been so many spooks, invisible to the human eye, they couldn't have been more thoroughly ignored than they are in the streets and restaurants of Copenhagen. No Dane seems to notice them in the least. It is a splendid and very interesting example of non-resistance and non-cooperation, peaceful, dignified, but ice-cold. And what is more, it was an immediate and natural reaction, without preceding propaganda or organization. From visits in Germany I remember how officers would come strutting into any restaurant with an air of owning the place. Here the German officers would come in on tip-toe, sit down in a corner, and converse in hushed tones, until they quietly, somewhat shamefacedly, tip-toed out again. They felt utterly out of place.

On the surface the Danish people show polite indifference; below the surface there is cold fury. On the surface there

is the Danish smile; below the surface, bitter tears. That is perhaps what creates the humor.

We are not waging war, but we are struggling for life. In the stillness between two airplanes I listened into the dark. It was the first mild night, it was May. Tonight it must come! My wish was

almost a command—or a prayer—for I had to travel far, and there was no time to waste. I had to leave Denmark in the midst of her suffering, I had to leave my friends in the midst of their struggle.

Yes, it had come—wrenched from the night as it were by my wish, came the first groping song of the nightingale.

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## "I Know of an Herb"

BY HANS ALBRETSÖN

*This hymn was written by the Bishop of Sjælland in 1566, during the Seven Years' War of the North. It was sung in Danish at the service in New York on the seventieth birthday of King Christian and has been translated for the REVIEW by SIGNE TOKSVIG.*

**I** KNOW OF AN HERB so fair and bold  
 In the clean field growing tall,  
 Spreading herself forth many fold  
 With flowers and branches small;  
 Now is there come so stormy a blow  
 With frost and cold in its wake,  
 Hath stricken that blossom to earth so low,  
 Right sorely my heart doth ache.

God knoweth what sorrow and misery  
 Went with that blossom to grieve it then,  
 The time it sank to the icy lea,  
 Lamented over by many men,  
 Who hath lost all, both joy and delight,  
 Fields, pennies, friends and honored state;  
 Small comfort cometh to soothe their plight  
 Wherever may lie their fate.

Almighty and merciful God, we pray,  
 All things are in Thy hands,  
 Turn Thou the punishing scourge away  
 Which hangeth above these lands!  
 Grant Thou our King be brave and wise  
 So to subdue the foe,  
 That Denmark's people again may rise,  
 Fully themselves to know!

# THE QUARTER'S HISTORY



KING CHRISTIAN'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY on September 26 demonstrated once more the love and devotion with which His Majesty has inspired all his people. Never before has the flame of patriotism burned with so bright

and clear a light; never before have the Danes been so united, and the symbol of all that binds them together is the King. As he rides through the streets of Copenhagen, alone and unattended, secure in the affection of his people, responding to the respectful greetings of the street crowds, obeying the traffic signals like everybody else, he is an impersonation of all that is fine and simple and genuine in the Danish character and way of living.

On his birthday, hundreds of thousands of people all over the country made it a day of renewed loyalty to Denmark. In Copenhagen crowds filled the square in front of Amalienborg Palace and the adjoining streets. Late at night they stood there with their tiny dim bluish electric lanterns, which is all the blackout allows them, waiting for a last glimpse of the King. On the stroke of twelve His Majesty appeared on the balcony, himself carrying one of the little bluish lanterns, spoke a few words to the people, and bade them good-night.

A silver badge with the royal initial and the dates 1870-1940 had been made for the occasion. Although the cheapest kind sold for 5 kroner and the more expensive for as much as 105 kroner, it was estimated that at least 40,000 of these badges had been sold. The proceeds were given to the King to be disposed of in whatever way he thinks best. The only other badge rivalling it in popularity is

the Danish flag which is worn by almost everybody in the country.

NEXT TO THE KING as a personification of Danish unity is Theodor Stauning, since 1929 Prime Minister, and now the Grand Old Man of the Danish Government. Whatever party differences there have been and still are, they have been sunk in loyalty to the man who carries on his shoulders the responsibility of government in the present crisis. In as much as the Stauning Cabinet was purely Social-Democratic, it was augmented with representatives of the other parties, among them the well-known Conservative leader Christmas Möller. He was made Minister of Commerce, but resigned after a short time. The reason given was that he found the work incompatible with his activities as party leader. Everyone who knows Christmas Möller knows, however, that he would place national above party interests, and that this reason was only a pretext.

A few days before his resignation Christmas Möller had made a speech which, though held in a private club, seeped out to the public. He said in substance: "I once studied some law, but I am not a lawyer. Nevertheless I know the difference between what is just and what is unjust. That which was done to us on April 9 was unjust." He had also declared that the present Government did not wish to make any discriminations against Jews; if any such were made, it would be under compulsion.

When Christmas Möller resigned a few days later, the question was posed: Was it because he had become *persona non grata* to the Germans, or had he made up his mind to resign, and did he use his last days in office to express some home truths which could not well be voiced by the

Prime Minister in his official position? At a Socialist party meeting, the Conservative leader was wildly cheered.

When Prime Minister Stauning made a conciliatory speech, praising the Germans for their "correct" behavior, the Danes did not resent it, because they realized that it was part of a necessary policy.

**AN ATTEMPT TO LAUNCH AN ATTACK** not merely on the present Cabinet, but on the very form and structure of the Danish government, was made during the last days of September by the Nazi leader Fritz Clausen. About 3,000 persons heard him speak in Copenhagen. Clausen has been named in Germany as a possible successor to Stauning, and there is a possibility that Denmark may find in him its Quisling.

To counteract the Nazi influence, the Government party, the Social-Democratic, held its first political mass meeting since April, on October 27. Copenhagen's largest exhibition hall, the Forum, was filled and ten thousand people had to be turned away. An overflow meeting at the Koncertpalæ was also crowded to the doors. Prime Minister Stauning and the party leader, Mr. Hedtoft Hansen, addressed the assembled crowds.

While the Danish Nazis are thus becoming more active, they have lost support among the rank and file. The Farmers' Party formerly had some Nazi leanings, but the indignation of the farmers at the ruin threatening their farms has alienated them from any group that savors of Nazidom.

**A DANISH-GERMAN ASSOCIATION** has been formed for better relations with the "big brother" in the South. The first public meeting of the Association was held on September 10 in the great hall of the Koncertpalæ. It was estimated that about a thousand members "with ladies" were present, besides members of the old

Danish-German Society. It was announced that the following directorate had been elected: Director-General P. Knutzen, Count C. Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, Director Chr. H. Olesen, Dr. A. Höjbjerg Christensen, Captain E. J. Ipsen, Chief of Police E. Thune-Jacobsen, and Director F. W. Kraft.

Mr. Knutzen, who is Director-General of the Danish State Railways, delivered an address which he had given a few days earlier in Berlin. In the first part of the speech he emphasized the cultural values that are peculiarly Danish and the peaceful contributions that Danes and Germans had exchanged in the past. To this part of the speech there could, of course, be no objection anywhere, except perhaps on the score that the time was not especially well chosen now that the Germans are forcibly occupying Denmark. But Mr. Knutzen then went on to pay his respects to the Führer principle as exemplified in the State Railways with their 21,000 employees. He said, finally, that he hoped the cooperation which had been growing among the Scandinavian peoples, without robbing them of their national characteristics, would be extended to include the German brother people.

The speech was deeply resented by the rank and file of the Danes.

**DANISH SONGS** had their share in keeping alive Danish patriotism in North Slesvig under German rule. Modern means of communication have made possible the use of patriotic singing on an unprecedented scale. On Sunday September 1, Denmark had its first nation-wide community sing. The event was well prepared. A small song book, containing all those ingratiatingly tender songs in which the Dane expresses his love of country, had been printed, paid for by an anonymous donor, and sent gratis through the mails to every family in Denmark. At a fixed hour in the afternoon people assembled, in most

places out of doors. There were speeches by local leaders, sometimes other features, such as orchestra music or choral singing, and then the people sang, thousands of them standing shoulder to shoulder or sitting on the grass. In Copenhagen alone there were three "sings," the largest being at the Fælled Park where it is estimated that 150,000 people joined in the singing. From there the program was broadcast to the whole country, in order that everybody everywhere could join in the singing at six o'clock of Grundtvig's *Moders Navn er en himmelsk Lyd* to the well-known melody by Rung. Although the program at the Fælled Park lasted two and a half hours, people did not seem to get tired. Reports from all over the country indicate that 750,000 people took part in the singing. There were sings in 208 cities besides many smaller places.

A Swedish dispatch says that the Germans have forbidden any more sings.

IN THE MIDST OF THE FOREIGN occupation the people of Denmark have been able to dedicate their great national monument, their largest church building in modern times, the Grundtvig Church at Bispebjerg in the western outskirts of Copenhagen. The church has been raised in part by popular subscription, in part by a State grant. Work upon it has been carried on since 1921 when the cornerstone was laid. In 1927 it was sufficiently far advanced so that a part of it, the so-called "tower church," could be taken into use. The entire west façade is occupied by the triple tower, giving somewhat the effect of a pipe organ, which is familiar from illustrations.

The entire vast edifice is now completed and was solemnly dedicated on Grundtvig's birthday, September 8. The dedication was performed by Bishop H. Fuglsang Damgaard. A greeting from

Sweden was brought by Bishop E. M. Rodhe of Lund.

Although of cathedral dimensions, the Grundtvig Church does not imitate the medieval cathedrals. It has no dark, somber chapels for individual prayer, but wide open spaces for congregational singing and Protestant preaching. Stained glass is no part of the plan, but clear windows freely letting in the daylight. The designer of the church was the architect Jensen Klint who superintended the first part of the work. After his death it has been continued by his son Kaare Klint, as far as possible with the old workmen.

LIFE IN DENMARK IS DIFFICULT, though probably more tolerable than in any other of the occupied countries. One reason for this is the Danish self-restraint of which the late Mayor of Copenhagen, Ernst Kaper, said that it was not "discipline," but culture—not imposed from above, but evolved from within. The German soldiers have on the whole behaved well, and since they have met no resistance, there has been no occasion to behave otherwise.

The Danes know that there are German censors in all government, newspaper, radio, steamship, and large business offices. These censors control every bit of news that is released for the consumption of the Danish people. But the Danes have many underground channels by which news is disseminated. Chain letters, though forbidden, circulate widely. As in all the occupied countries, there is a system of espionage furnishing Great Britain with valuable information regarding German troop movements and other military developments.

THERE IS STILL ENOUGH TO EAT. Many food products are rationed, among them sugar, flour, bread, coffee, tea, and cocoa, and it is expected that milk, butter, and other fats may soon be included in the

list. The rationing, however, works less hardship than inconvenience. The rations are sufficiently large, and the system is designed more to regulate than to cut down consumption.

A much greater hardship is caused by the scarcity of fuel of all kinds. The Germans have not kept their promises that they would send back the cattle cars of Denmark filled with coal. If the winter should prove just as hard as last winter, the result will be catastrophic. Many families have not enough gas to cook their food properly.

In spite of all the efforts of the Government to regulate prices, they continue to go sky-rocketing. Even the simplest things are expensive. Taxes have also risen.

The blackout has been somewhat relaxed in Copenhagen, and a few dim lights are allowed in the streets, but the amount of electricity used is only about one thousandth of the normal consumption.

**UNEMPLOYMENT HAS INCREASED** greatly because of the lack of raw materials for industry. At the end of August there were about 100,000 unemployed in the country, and many thousands have been added each month. This condition has led to an exodus of workers, more or less under pressure, to Germany. What happens is that when they come to draw their unemployment relief, they are told about plenty of jobs in Germany, while at home there is the ever-present dread that their unemployment relief may be cut off some day with consequent suffering for themselves and their families. Those who accept work in Germany, are transported there under contract and are put to work as farmhands, or factory workers, or on the maintenance of the military highways. Complaints have been received at home that they are poorly paid and that the food is bad and insufficient. Some of

them have returned to Denmark in wretched condition, but there are still 20,000 Danes in Germany.

To remedy the unemployment situation, the Danish government has started a sort of W.P.A. for public works, such as roads, schoolhouses, and hospitals, or to undertake works of irrigation, reclamation of waste lands, and reforestation on the same plan as here in the United States.



**SWEDEN WENT TO THE POLLS** on September 15 and delivered a ringing re-affirmation of its age-old belief in democracy. The occasion was the election of members of the Second Chamber of the Riksdag, which takes place every four years. More than 70 per cent of the voters participated, and they maintained in power the coalition Government, made up of representatives of the four major parties: the Social-Democrats, the Farmers, the Liberals, and the Conservatives. The returns showed that the Social-Democrats, whose leader is Per Albin Hansson, Prime Minister of Sweden almost uninterrupted since 1932, gained not less than 19 new seats, while all the other parties registered small losses. Thus the Farmers' Union lost 8, the Liberals, or People's party, lost 4, the Conservatives 2, the Left Socialists all the seats which they had so far in the Riksdag, numbering 3, and the Communists 2. The Social-Democrats now have not less than 134 seats, and the combined seats of the representatives of the coalition group in the Second Chamber now number 227 out of a total of 230.

The turn-out was almost as large as during the hotly fought election of 1936, at which the participation was unusually strong. Because of the seriousness of the times, the leaders of the major parties

had agreed to conduct a campaign and to hold an election totally free from the usual ballyhoo. There were few political speeches, and no radio talks, except the regulation last-minute round robin over the air, when the party chiefs speak to the voters for a few minutes each. There were no sound trucks; not even the familiar colored posters. All leading speakers and newspapers therefore urged the people to vote and thus demonstrate the country's strong will to support the Government. The result of the election meant a complete victory of the democratic system and served as a reprimand to those sympathizers of other political systems who had recommended that the voters stay home. In all nearly 3,000,000 votes were cast, of which less than 100,000 were for the opposition. The Social-Democratic party received 1,527,000 votes, or over 1,000,000 more than its closest ally-competitor, the Conservative, with 504,000.

**SWEDEN IS CONSTANTLY SENDING** help to its stricken sister country, Norway. In his capacity as chairman of the Swedish Red Cross, Prince Carl, a brother of King Gustaf, furnished through a radio address a summary of the Swedish aid to Norway since April 9.

"No misunderstanding must be permitted regarding the Swedish aid to the Norwegian people or the reasons why it has not been so extensive as we had hoped," said the Prince.

"Without a doubt," he continued, "there is in Sweden a sincere desire, supported by a deep-felt sympathy, to assist the Norwegian people even at the cost of personal sacrifices, and a feeling that the Northern brotherhood implies obligations. There are numerous Swedes who feel that much more could and should have been done for Norway, and many Norwegians share with regret this opinion. Comparisons are made with the extent of Sweden's aid to Finland, . . .

"In this connection no account is taken of the fact that Sweden's position during the Russo-Finnish war was quite different in many respects, and it is forgotten that Sweden's stock of supplies for its own people is at the present time by no means safeguarded or assured. The Swedish authorities," said the Prince, "have the duty to see to it that this supply is not risked by too generous permits for shipments outside the borders. Furthermore, it is a fact that serious unemployment is expected in Sweden this coming winter."

The speaker then said he felt convinced that, if only the Norwegian people could be made to understand the reasons why the Swedes had been forced to restrict their aid to Norway, no one in Norway would accuse the Swedes of indifference toward their Norwegian friends.

**THE PRINCE THEN GAVE A SUMMARY** of what had actually been done. Within a few weeks of April 9, he said, there were sent to Norway considerable quantities of medicines and other medical supplies, and after that 130 tons of food supplies, chiefly for the people living near the border. Then there were sent 122 tons of gifts in clothes. The Swedish Aid to Norway includes furthermore 550 wooden houses, which are being set up in localities where the need is especially great. For this purpose the Swedish National Relief Fund Committee has appropriated three million kronor. To this should be added eighty wooden houses from the Swedish Red Cross, and five orphanages operated by the Red Cross in the severely damaged towns of Kristiansund, Steinkjer, Bodø, Namsos, and Narvik. For this purpose there has been appropriated 900,000 kronor.

The Prince estimated the total value of this aid at about four and a half million kronor, and he closed his address with these words: "I feel certain that all

Swedes join me when I now send a Swedish greeting to all Norwegian homes with the assurance that we have a deep feeling for the Norwegian people and share their sorrows as well as their hopes for a brighter future."

The newspapers expressed in their comments deep satisfaction that in this way light has been shed on Sweden's aid to Norway. It may be added that aid has also been rendered in other ways, such as through private collections and generous help to soldiers and other refugees who found shelter in Sweden.

A NEW TRADE TREATY was signed between Sweden and Soviet Russia after four months of negotiations. According to this agreement, Swedish exports to Russia will be increased in value from 18,000,000 kronor in 1938 to 75,000,000 kronor, on a barter basis, and to about 100,000,000 kronor including goods on credit. Russian exports to Sweden, on the other hand, will be increased in value from 12,000,000 kronor in 1938 to 75,000,000 kronor. Under the terms of this agreement, Sweden also will extend a credit to Russia to the amount of 100,000,000 kronor for five years at an interest rate of four and one-half per cent. In two years this credit will be used up, principally on the export to Russia of Swedish machinery and tools. Sweden will take quantities of petroleum products, grain, seed cakes, manganese ore, and other raw materials, which it used to buy from the Western countries. Russia, on its side, will import Swedish railway equipment, steel, machine tools, ball bearings, etc.

Sweden also concluded a new trade treaty with Finland. It involves the export of Swedish goods to Finland of a value of 50,000,000 kronor, chiefly consisting of machinery and steel. To facilitate the payment, Sweden extended credit for 25,000,000 kronor, and in order to encourage further private exports to Fin-

land, the Swedish government will grant special export credit guarantees.

SWEDEN CONTINUES to strengthen its defenses and pursue as before its policy of strict neutrality. In an address at Eskilstuna on October 31, Per Edvin Sköld, Swedish Minister of National Defense, said that new army units are constantly being formed, the navy has received several new ships, the number of coast artillery batteries is being increased, and new air corps outfits are set up. He said that the training of conscripted soldiers is the most active that Sweden has ever known, and that the material defense resources also are satisfactory. "Our preparedness," he stated, "is today on a high level, spiritually, physically, and materially, as probably never before."

A formal protest was launched in Washington against the requisitioning by the United States government and diversion to the Philippines of 110 bombing planes ordered by Sweden last year from the Republic Aviation Corporation, on Long Island.

THE SWEDISH ACADEMY has elected two new members to take the chairs occupied by Selma Lagerlöf and Verner von Heidenstam. To Miss Lagerlöf's place succeeded Hjalmar Gullberg, poet and literary advisor to the Royal Dramatic Theater in Stockholm. Born in 1898, he is the author of several volumes of verse which are marked by a rich lyric tone and sometimes by a brilliant sarcasm. He is also famous for his splendid metric translations of Greek plays, among them Aristophanes's, *The Birds*, Euripides's *Hippolytus*, and *Medea*, and Sophocles's, *Antigone*. A member of the literary group, *De Nio*, (The Nine) he has also served as head of the theater department of the Stockholm broadcasting station.

PÄR LAGERKVIST, one of Sweden's most prominent poets and dramatists, was elected to succeed to the chair of Verner von Heidenstam. Lagerkvist, who was born in 1891, published his first book in 1913. It consisted of a plea for a literary expressionism, corresponding to that in painting. He practised this style of writing in several of his early works, both in verse and prose. In 1919 he scored great success with the publication of a series of one-act plays, and he secured his position as the most original and daring of modern Swedish writers with the short novel, *Det eviga leendet*, (The Eternal Smile) in 1920, and a book of poems, *Den lyckliges väg*, (The Road of the Happy) in 1921. Among his recent works, which have gained for him an international reputation, should be mentioned *Han som fick leva om sitt liv*, (He Who Lived His Life Over Again) and *Bödelen*, (The Hangman) which has been produced in Sweden, Norway, and England. This last mentioned drama is a brilliant and savage attack upon dictators and totalitarianism.



**NORWAY**

STUBBORN RESISTANCE TO THE GERMAN military power in Norway and its puppet administrators of civil affairs has definitely characterized the temper of the whole Norwegian people during the quarter immediately preceding this issue of the REVIEW. The undercurrent of rage, and of contempt and hatred against the invaders has been steadily growing in intensity.

It is a psychologic characteristic of the Norwegian people to be slow to anger. This is unquestionably the result of the advance of culture during the last 1,000 years and the civilizing effect of the teachings of Christianity, for it was not al-

ways so. Inimical action is required to arouse most Norwegians to anger, and even then they are apt to ponder, in the light of reason and logic, its possible or probable evil effect before surrendering to an emotional upsurge of anger and hatred. During the last three months the people have gradually recovered from the first surprise and shock of the enemy invasion, taken as they were completely by surprise. They have now had time to regain their mental equilibrium and, in the midst of the ruins of their bombarded and burned cities, towns, and villages, and their battle-scarred country districts, have had opportunity to reflect upon the death, disaster, and unspeakable tragedy an all-powerful enemy has inflicted upon them without reason and without warning.

Out of the first fog of bewilderment and tragic despair has emerged a clear understanding of the crime against civilization which Hitler and his military cohorts have committed against a peaceful, friendly nation.

THE PRETEXT OF PROTECTION, which the enemy advanced as a reason for the invasion, it soon became obvious even to the dullest mind, was a tragic mockery. German trickery and deceit could not be explained away by efforts made by higher Nazi officers to be affable and to conduct themselves as almost gentlemen. Their military actions spoke louder than words and social conduct.

Complete subjugation of Norway and the Nazification of the Norwegian people under Nazi-Germany's "new world order" was Hitler's ultimate purpose in ordering the invasion, and this purpose the Norwegian people, after recovering from the first shock, were not slow in discerning.

Restlessness and dogged resistance against German intimidation is the consequence. Resistance has been increasing

in intensity and extent in proportion as the German military and civil authorities have brought about radical changes in Norway's democratic governmental structure. This determined attitude of opposition from the people has alarmed the enemy invaders to the extent that they have instituted terroristic measures in an effort to cope with it, and have reestablished the death penalty, which has not been effectuated in Norway for three quarters of a century. But resistance continues unabated, with relentless determination to uphold the lawful King and Government in exile to the end that Norway shall once more be a free and independent nation.

THE CIVILIAN RESISTANCE, which is still continuing, has expressed itself in numerous and varied ways designed to harass the invaders and destroy the effectiveness of Nazi administrative orders. The danger incurred in carrying such designs into effect proves the temper of the people and their determination to fight for freedom, in spite of all personal hazard to life and liberty.

The more open and hazardous forms of resistance are public speeches, such as the lecture delivered by Dr. John Scharffenberg in the Norwegian Students' Association in Oslo, in September, and the speech by Martin Tranmæl, editor of *Arbeiderbladet* of Oslo, leading organ of the Norwegian Labor party. Dr. Scharffenberg, who is a recognized authority on psychiatry, lectured on the absolute constitutionality of King Haakon's election to the throne of Norway. The Nazi authorities, seconded by the traitor, Vidkun Quisling and his few followers, had put forward the claim that the King's election had been unconstitutional and therefore void. By this means the Germans hoped to get rid of the King, by hoodwinking the people with a gross falsification of the historical record. In his lecture, to a

wildly cheering student audience, Dr. Scharffenberg proved the Nazi claim preposterous, without the slightest basis in law, justice, or historical fact.

For this daring opposition to Nazi plans, Dr. Scharffenberg was arrested as an enemy of the State and sent to an internment camp. Up to now no report has come through as to Editor Tranmæl's fate. The theme of Tranmæl's speech was that Norway must and shall be free again, and he urged the people to remain steadfast in their will to freedom and in their loyalty to the nation's democratic Constitution and the lawful King and Government.

OTHER FORMS OF RESISTANCE run from sabotage, such as the flooding of German-controlled warehouse floors stacked with arms and military stores, cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, puncturing tires on military automobiles and trucks, pulling down Nazi flags and standards, to muttering words of contempt and insult to German soldiers on guard duty. It has also been reported that considerable quantities of food and general merchandise shipped from Norway to Germany have been destroyed or rendered useless by acts of sabotage, probably before being loaded in railroad cars or during transit from Norway.

Arrests for such acts of resistance are of almost daily occurrence in many parts of the country and are increasing at an alarming rate. At least four men have been executed during the last two months, convicted of espionage. They were charged with establishing a secret radio station through which important news of the doings of the German enemy in Holland was broadcast to London and other parts of the world. Penalties in such cases are fixed in accordance with Nazi military law, and run from jail sentences of a year and a half for insulting German soldiers,

to five years or more for sabotage, and death by a firing squad for espionage.

NAZI-GERMAN POWER POLITICS was given exemplification in Norway on September 25 by Josef Terboven, Hitler's Reichskommissar, who on that date installed a new civil administrative council, called the Council of Commissars, to govern Norway in civil matters. Hitler and the high command of the invading German army are supreme, but Terboven, as Hitler's personal representative, will carry out his master's orders through his civil commissar appointees.

The new council of commissars, which supplants the former civil Administrative Council headed by Ingolf Elster Christensen, was at first announced as being composed of thirteen members, without Quisling's name being mentioned as a member, but it was generally understood that the arch-traitor was the moving spirit behind the new totalitarian set-up. The surmise proved to be well founded, for Quisling shortly afterwards bobbed up as a sort of puppet "prime minister" and head of the new commissar council. With Quisling included, the council comprises a governing body of fourteen members, each heading a department.

IN AN OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ issued in connection with the announcement of the appointment of the new governing body, it is declared that the royal house, "which two-thirds of the Storting long ago refused to recognize," that is to say King Haakon, Crown Prince Olav, Crown Princess Märtha and the couple's three children, are legally invalidated and are not to return to Norway.

The Communiqué announced further that what applied to the royal house, applied equally to the members of the "emigrated" Nygaardsvold Government. They are declared to be "without political sig-

nificance" and are not to be permitted to return to Norway. All activity in behalf of the "former Norwegian royal house and the former Nygaardsvold Government" is prohibited. It was further announced that the former Elster Christensen Administrative Council had ceased to function, that all political parties in Norway had been dissolved, and that the forming of political parties or societies aiming to assume political activity was prohibited.

Thus the Nazification of Norway under a Hitler-dictated totalitarian form of government, coupled with the destruction of Norway's freedom, independence, and highly developed democracy, is on the way.

IN ADDITION TO VIDKUN QUISLING, whose so-called political party, *Nasjonal Samling*, was the only political organization permitted to continue its activity, the members of the new Council of Commissars are the following: S. H. Johannessen, commissar for commerce, industry, fisheries, and handicrafts; Captain Kjeld Irgens (Norwegian-America Line), commissar for the merchant marine; Professor Ragnar Skancke, commissar for church and education; William Hagelin, commissar for internal affairs; Professor Birger Meidell, commissar for social affairs; Öystein Ravner, commissar for supplies; Jonas Lie, commissar of police; State's Attorney Sigurd Riisnes, commissar of justice; Erling Sandberg (banker), commissar of finance; Dr. Gulbrand Lunde, commissar for public information (propaganda); Tormod Hustad (architect), commissar for public works and labor; Axel Stang, commissar for physical education.

These are the men who evidently have lent themselves to assist Hitler and his man, Reichskommissar Terboven, in their plan of changing Norway into a German totalitarian, Nazi-dominated vassal State.

Following the announcement of the change in the form of government, Terboven made a speech, which was broadcast, in which it was evident that he had had difficulty in finding men in Norway willing to become "commissars" under the new régime.

As a result of these developments, the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm reports the feeling in Norway to be gloomy and bitter, but by no means to the point of resignation and defeat. While the prospect appears frightening to many, in spite of all, the people generally throughout the country evaluate the events and the so-called "new order in Europe," in which Norway is to be a link with the Nazi Reich, as being based on the language of German power politics, a fact making Norwegian acceptance and cooperation out of the question. The new so-called government or Council of Commissioners is understood to be exclusively a creature appointed on the basis of German military power, and *Nasjonal Samling* is known to be a party which received less than 2 per cent of the nation's total number of votes and which never has had a single representative in the Storting.

THE SWEDISH PRESS generally received the news by printing indignant editorials on the tragic events in Norway. This friendly stand of the Swedish press came as a cheering voice to the thousands of Norwegians who, because of circumstances in their native land, have taken up residence in Sweden.

King Haakon, in answer to Terboven's announcement, broadcast from London on September 26 a message to the Norwegian people, in which he reiterated his determination and that of the lawful Norwegian Government to continue the struggle for a free Norway and the liberty of its people. "I should fail in my duty to my country if I were to give up the struggle," the King said. "We have been forced

to carry on this fight for freedom outside our country's borders . . . but we shall return home and rebuild what the German invaders have destroyed in our land. . . . All Norwegian men and women must keep up their courage in anticipation of the victory which shall and must come."

GENERAL OTTO RUGE, Commander in Chief of the Norwegian Army, who led a gallant fight against the all-powerful enemy, had tried to reach a reasonable agreement with the German commander at Narvik, after the Norwegian Government and the army high command had decided to end the military war within the borders of Norway, at least for the present. General Ruge sought honorable treatment for his troops, but the German commander was unwilling to accord them the soldierly treatment General Ruge desired. The German commander's terms were far from liberal. Moreover, the Norwegian commander in chief was directed to sign a declaration solemnly promising in his own behalf and that of his troops to refrain for the future from taking up arms against Germany. General Ruge refused to give such a promise. "On the contrary," he answered, "it will be a pleasure to take up arms in behalf of my country whenever opportunity offers." Whereupon the German commander informed him that he was to be regarded as a prisoner of war.

General Ruge was permitted to proceed to Oslo, but there he was interned in the residential quarters of the warden of the new general prison for women at Grini in Bærum, a rural district near Oslo. There he remained under guard until the middle of October. Suddenly one day he was informed that he was to be transferred to another place of internment. It is now reliably reported that on October 15 General Ruge was transported by airplane to an internment camp "somewhere" in Germany.

**THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF NORWAY** is also being forced into conformity with the totalitarian, neo-pagan attitude toward the Christian religion. A report from Stockholm to the *New York Times* declares that a split in the Church of Norway is feared as a result of the movement.

The first step in this direction has been taken by omitting from the church service the old, regularly ordained prayer for the King and the Government. Bishop E. Berggrav of Oslo, primate of the Church of Norway, and his fellow bishops throughout the country have, presumably under Nazi pressure, adopted a new version of the old prayer in which God is beseeched to bestow peace and happiness upon the land.

The King's picture will no longer appear on Norway's postage stamps, silver coins, paper currency, or even on the labels of sardine boxes. Quisling has proposed that a change be made in the Norwegian flag. He wants the new flag to have a yellow cross on a red field "to symbolize the break with the old and the beginning of the new Nazi world order," he says.

**THUS THE NAZIFICATION OF NORWAY** continues, but so does unrest among the people—and stubborn resistance, which at times bursts out into violent outbreaks and street riots, as in Bergen a couple of weeks ago, where a riot occurred outside of the Quisling party's meeting hall. Two persons were killed and several were seriously injured in the fracas. The crowd gathered in protest against the Quisling meeting. Violence became general when the protesting crowd tore down the Quisling advertising placards.

The regular police were unable to cope with the rioters, and German troops had to be called in to help quell the disturbance. Many of the participants were arrested. It is reported that long prison sentences have been inflicted on persons

charged with destroying Quisling placards and giving information to foreign powers regarding conditions in Norway.

Demonstrative protest meetings have also been held in several districts around Bergen and in Trondheim. The most determined resistance to Nazification has been shown by the population in the fjord regions and in the towns and villages in the vicinity of Bergen.

The seriousness of the situation growing out of the determination of the people to resist may be judged by the fact that Terboven, acting on the reports from his German assistant administrators in key positions around the country, has imported into Norway a considerable force of Gestapo men.

**PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS** continues with merciless vigor by the occupying authorities. Editors are arrested almost daily and their newspapers suppressed either for a time or permanently, depending on the gravity of the charges lodged against the editors or owners or both.

From the lawful Norwegian Government in London comes the report that a large number of Norway's leading editors are now in jail, because they have definitely refused to pervert their newspapers into propaganda sheets for Nazism. These editors were recently presented with an ultimatum from the Nazi minister of propaganda wherein they were given the choice of abandoning their journalistic career or editing their papers in accordance with the viewpoint of Quisling's Nazi party.

The editors preferred to go to jail rather than surrender their right to conduct a free press. Their sacrifice of personal liberty in the cause of freedom is but one more proof of the will of the Norwegian people to resist to the utmost the persecution and tyranny inflicted upon them by the military might of the German enemy.



## ICELAND

ACCORDING TO A RECENT CENSUS, the population of Iceland has increased by 1.2 per cent in 1939 to a total of 120,264. The population of Reykjavik, the capital, is now 38,219. Akureyri is second with 5,103, Hafnarfjördur third with 3,615, and Siglufjördur, the world's largest herring station, is fourth with 2,975. Unemployment is the lowest it has been for several years with only 167 or .013 per cent of the population out of work.

GREAT BRITAIN HAS BOUGHT Iceland's entire production of herring meal and herring oil, 25,000 tons of each, for a total of 27 million kronur, the British to provide transportation. They have also bought the total catch of codfish, and business between the Icelanders and the British is increasing every day. The British employ 1,300 Icelandic workmen and builders at union rates in Icelandic currency, and about 140,000 kronur is paid weekly in wages.

Two ICELANDIC TRAWLERS, the *Egill Skallagrimsson* and the *Hilmir* saved forty members of the crew of the *Ville de Hasselt*, which was torpedoed off the coast of Scotland early in September. The crew of the *Skallagrimur*, which rescued 350 men from the British vessel *Andania* on June 16, were presented with thirteen beautiful silver cigarette cases and the Captain with a fine gold watch, all from Mappin and Webb's of London and inscribed, "in recognition of a gallant deed."

The Icelandic steamer *Esja* was sent to Petsamo in September to pick up between two and three hundred Icelanders who have been living in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The vessel carried a cargo of Icelandic wool to Sweden.

## SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA

### King Christian's Birthday

In the First Presbyterian Church on Fifth Avenue at Twelfth Street, New York, Danes and friends of Denmark gathered on King Christian's seventieth birthday, September 26. Involuntarily all thoughts went back to the happier occasion when many of the same people were assembled in the same place, on May 15, 1937, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Christian X as King of Denmark. Now as then, the pastor of the church, Rev. J. V. Moldenhawer, who is himself of Danish birth, welcomed the audience and paid a tribute to the land of his birth. Now as then, the sermon was preached by Rev. A. Th. Dorf. He spoke grave words of the trials that had come to test the faith and endurance of the Danish people and spoke of the King who by the strength of his personality had been able to unite them as never before. "When people see him coming there is confidence in their minds. It is Hope that rides forward with him. God bless Denmark, its King and its people. God give it a future, as He gave it memories."

Consul General Bech promised that he would forward to the King the sympathy and good wishes that had been expressed on the occasion.



### Pavilions Closed at the Fair

Consul General and Mrs. Georg Bech were hosts at a final party in the Denmark Pavilion at the World's Fair before its closing. Many of those present heard for the first time the full story of the undertaking, as Consul Bech thanked all those who had contributed to the success of the Pavilion. The necessary funds had been guaranteed by Mr. William S. Knudsen, and although considerable sums

had been gathered by popular subscription, Mr. Knudsen had been called upon for a large part of his pledge. Mr. F. Lunning, representative here of several Danish art industries, had contributed most of the exhibits as well as the services of his staff. The American Denmark Committee, representing churches and societies in and about New York, had rendered invaluable help. The Consul General ended by saying: "You will always remember there is an undying organism that is Denmark, Danish culture, Danish people," and finally he reminded his hearers of what Prime Minister Stauning had said at the opening of the Rigsdag, October 1, "Denmark's principal task in the future will be to secure her independence and conserve her people's liberty."

On the same evening, October 25, the closing celebration was held at the Iceland Pavilion near by, at which Consul General and Mrs. Thor Thors were hosts. The Consul General spoke of the success of the Pavilion and thanked all those who had contributed to it. After the reception there was the salute to Iceland at the Lagoon of Nations. A similar salute to Denmark, a special symphony of fountains, had been given the week before.

#### A Welcome to Iceland's Representative

The fact that Iceland for the first time has a permanent representation in this country was made the occasion for a banquet in honor of Consul General and Mrs. Thor Thors, arranged by the Icelandic Society at the Hotel Shelton on the evening of October 26. Several distinguished Icelanders from out of town were present. Among them was Professor Haldor Hermannsson of Cornell University, who said in his speech that the only way in which Iceland could preserve her individuality would be by continuing the affiliation with the other Scandinavian countries. Professor Stefan Einarsson of

Johns Hopkins University made a sprightly comparison between the Icelandic temperament and that of the English, French, and Germans. Icelanders, he said, had a large capacity for dreams, but little sense of humor. A small nation, he said, could not afford a sense of humor nor the luxury of "muddling through." Icelanders were obliged to take themselves seriously and strain all their resources in order to meet the demand on every one of them.

Consul General Thors in his reply spoke partly in English, stressing the need of Iceland for closer ties with the United States.

#### Leif Ericson Day Observed

October 9 has become firmly established in our consciousness as the day to commemorate the discovery of America by Leif Ericson. It was this year given an impetus through a proclamation issued by President Roosevelt suggesting "that on October 9 as many of our citizens as can possibly do so visit a nearby library or avail themselves of an encyclopedia or historical work at home, and re-read the thrilling tale of the voyages of Leif Ericson. I also suggest that teachers of history, as well as newspapers and magazines, cooperate in bringing to mind once more our debt to the Norse explorers."

To meet this suggestion, the Leif Ericson Foundation of Seattle, representing a number of Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, and Finnish groups of the city, issued a small pamphlet telling the story of the Norse discovery and listing books of reference. The list could have been much longer, but it is a good beginning.

Inasmuch as President C. J. Hambro's visit to Seattle coincided with Leif Ericson week, his address on Norway was substituted for the usual commemoration of the Norse discovery. The meeting was opened by Mrs. Jakobina Johnson, who is herself of Icelandic birth.

**Norwegian Relief Sends Houses**

The uncertainty regarding the ultimate fate of anything sent to relieve the want in Norway has been a handicap to the work of the American organization, Norwegian Relief. A solution has now been found, and the funds collected will be applied to buying prefabricated houses in Sweden. "The Nazis can't eat houses," said Sigrid Undset, who thoroughly approved of the suggestion. The Swedes have already donated 600 of these houses which have been set up in certain streets of the most stricken cities in Norway. The American organization is following suit, and has already sent 1,000,000 Swedish kronor to be expended by a Swedish committee in cooperation with a committee in Oslo. Another 1,000,000 kronor will be sent as soon as funds are available. With winter approaching, the need is urgent.

The Honorable Roy A. Young, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank in Boston, has been elected national chairman of Norwegian Relief. Mr. Johannes Westergaard, who had consented to serve temporarily, has therefore resigned.

**The Story of Narvik**

A thrilling story is that told by the youthful Mayor of Narvik, Theodor Broch, who is now lecturing in this country. He spoke to a Norwegian audience before Intime Forum in Brooklyn, November 1, and had to repeat the lecture in the Seamen's Church the following evening.

Mr. Broch was twice sentenced to death by the Nazis. The first time was in Narvik, when he had retaken the post office and telegraph station by mere bravado, and the Nazis, not liking to be made fools of, pronounced the death sentence upon him then and there. He did not take it quite seriously until the eighteen-year-old German soldier who had kept watch over him began to cry. Then he

realized that he had to do something rather quickly; he used his knowledge of the premises (the new hotel, pride of Narvik) to dodge under the bar into the cellar, out of the window, and around the corner, where he was lucky enough to find an automobile—presumably the only one not requisitioned by the Germans. He was captured again in the Lofoten Islands, but escaped again, this time out to sea in a fishing boat.

As Mayor for six years, Mr. Broch took part in developing that prosperous little town which is now a complete ruin, having been bombarded by friend and foe, from the sea, the air, and the land, every day during the war. The experience of Narvik was quite as gruesome as that of London—in some ways more so, because, being small, it was utterly destroyed.

**Mrs. Prytz Here from Oslo**

Another visitor from Norway who has a story to tell is Mrs. Elizabeth Prytz, on the staff of the University Library of Oslo, who left that city August 7 and travelled eastward by way of Sweden, Russia, Siberia, and Japan, to the United States. Mrs. Prytz told of how the Germans carried away Norwegian butter in planes, which the Norwegians promptly dubbed "butterflies." There was no social intercourse, she said, between the German "protectors" and the protected natives.

**Dr. Eisen's Career Closed**

The passing of Gustavus A. Eisen, who died quietly in his sleep at his New York home on October 29, closed a career phenomenally rich in achievement. He had celebrated his ninety-third birthday on August 2. Though born in Sweden, he spent by far the greater part of his life here. Distinguished as a biologist, an archaeologist, and an author, he was internationally known chiefly for his research regarding the famous Chalice of Antioch which he claimed to have estab-

lished as the Holy Grail, the goblet used in the Last Supper. Dr. Eisen spent fifteen years studying the matter and was as sure of his results, he said, as it was possible for a modern scholar to be. During his last years he was at work on a monograph on Mesopotamian cylinder seals, which was published by the Oriental Institute of Chicago.

Another achievement by which he has won the gratitude of the American people was his saving the Sequoia trees in California from extinction. He was then curator of the California Academy of Science. While on a walking tour, he happened to see the havoc being wrought among the big trees of California. A lumber firm had just made a contract to cut down the ancient trees, some of them thousands of years old, to make use of the fine wood. Dr. Eisen's Swedish instinct of conservation was roused, and he moved heaven and earth to stop the vandalism. He succeeded, and the area was set aside by the Federal government as the Sequoia National Park. Shortly before Dr. Eisen's death the people of California celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the park, and although he was unable to be present, his name was not forgotten.



#### Swedish Stars at the Opera

The Metropolitan Opera in New York will have a notable Swedish group of singers. The two famous contraltos, Kerstin Thorborg and Karin Branzell, will be there as well as the tenor Jussi Björling. In addition, the name of Joel Berglund is mentioned among singers newly engaged. He has been singing baritone rôles both in Italian and German opera in Stockholm, but is especially well known for his Wagner impersonations, among which are Wotan, Hagen, Pogner, and Hans Sachs. In New York he is to sing four Wagner rôles.

#### Jussi Björling as Gustav III

The Opera season in New York will this year open with a revival of Verdi's *Un Ballo di Maschera*, based on the assassination of Gustav III at the masked ball in Stockholm in 1792. Because of its dangerous theme, the opera was not given in its authentic setting; even the scene was changed from Stockholm to Boston. This year for the first time it is to be given with a correct setting and carefully designed costumes of the time. Strangely enough, the Metropolitan has now in Jussi Björling a Swedish tenor capable of singing the part of Gustav III, and it will fall to his lot to open the season in this rôle.



#### Among the Colleges

Upsala College in East Orange, New Jersey, under the energetic leadership of its young President, Dr. Evald B. Lawson, is building up a valuable library. The most recent acquisition is the remarkable Lincoln collection of the late Valentine Björkman, the work of forty years. Besides more than a thousand volumes, it includes newspapers from the time of Lincoln's assassination, scrapbooks containing clippings from newspapers and magazines, programs, posters, some original letters signed by Lincoln, pictures and statues of him, manuscripts of books and speeches about him, and various other things. Dr. Lawson hopes that a "Lincoln Hall" may sometime be built at Upsala to house the collection.

St. Olaf College has had several red-letter days since the opening this fall. Chief among them was a concert by Kirsten Flagstad, a lecture by Sigrid Undset, and a lecture by C. J. Hambro.

President Hambro has spoken also at Luther College in Decorah, and at Augustana College in Rock Island, where all activities of the college were suspended in the afternoon in order to give everybody an opportunity to hear him.

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## Trustees' Meeting

The Autumn meeting of the Trustees of the Foundation was held in the William Henry Schofield Library on November 2 and 4. In the absence of the President, Mr. G. Hilmer Lundbeck, Vice-President, acted as Chairman.

## American Fellows

All our American Fellows for 1939-40 have now returned safely to the United States with the exception of Dr. Kenneth C. Rule, who is continuing his research at Uppsala University. The last to arrive was Mr. Andreas G. Ronhovde, Fellow to Norway, who with his wife and two small children reached San Francisco by way of Russia and Japan early in August. Up to the day of the invasion Mr. Ronhovde was quietly pursuing his studies of government in the Norwegian archives. On that day the Ronhovde family, on the advice of high government officials, left Oslo in their car for Sweden. After an exciting journey lasting several weeks, in the course of which the roads became impassable with snow and their car had to be abandoned—fortunately to the Norwegian army—they finally reached Stockholm. Owing to the

fact that the Ronhovde baby was the youngest refugee from Norway, news of their safe arrival was cabled to the American press. After negotiating for several weeks to secure visas to return by Germany and Italy, Mr. Ronhovde decided at last to undertake the long and strenuous journey across Siberia. He has now resumed his duties as a member of the faculty of Rutgers University.

Mr. Robert W. Bean, Fellow to Norway, is working towards his doctor's degree in economics at Harvard University. Mr. Bean addressed the Scandinavian Forum in Cambridge in November.

Mr. John G. Faron, Fellow to Sweden, who lectured extensively on Swedish architecture under the auspices of the Foundation last spring, has joined the staff of an architectural firm in Washington, D.C.

Mr. G. E. Kidder Smith, Fellow to Sweden, whose superb photographs of Swedish and Finnish buildings have appeared in the REVIEW, the *Architectural Forum*, the *New York Times*, and other periodicals, has prepared an exhibit, "Stockholm Builds," which is being shown in art museums in various parts of the country. Arrangements are being made

by the Department of Architecture, Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York City.

Mr. Richard B. Vowles, Fellow to Sweden, is studying in the graduate department of English at Yale University.

Dr. Lloyd Allan Wood, Fellow to Sweden, is continuing his research in biochemistry at Harvard University. Dr. Wood described his experiences in Sweden at the Scandinavian Forum in Cambridge in October.

#### Danish Fellows

Mr. Niels Blume-Knudsen was married on July 13 to Miss Barbara Louise McCulloch, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Graydon Ernest McCulloch of Elmhurst, New York.

Mr. Bent Cardan, who studied engineering as an Honorary Fellow in 1938, has returned to continue his studies as a regular Fellow. He arrived on the *Exechorda* of the American Export Line on October 26, having flown from Copenhagen to Lisbon.

Dr. Henrik Dam of the Copenhagen Biochemical Institute and his wife arrived on the *Mathilda Thorden* from Petsamo on November 5. Further information about Dr. Dam appears in this issue under "Foundation Lecturers."

Mr. Eyyvind Frandsen arrived in Boston on the *Advance* of the Johansson Line from Petsamo on August 5 to study industrial organization.

Mr. Johan Graae also came on the *Advance*. A graduate of the Copenhagen Institute of Technology, he will study engineering.

#### Icelandic Fellows

Mr. Thorhallur Ásgeirsson, son of Mr. Ásgeir Ásgeirsson, former Prime Minister of Iceland who lectured in the United States and Canada several years ago, arrived in New York from Reykjavik early in October. Mr. Ásgeirsson, who has been studying at the University of Stockholm

for the past three years, has entered the senior year at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Ingí Bjarnason, who studied last year at the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries in Washington, D.C., and in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Boston, returned to Reykjavik late in August to take up his duties as chemist with the Icelandic Association of Fisheries. Mr. Bjarnason reports excellent results from experiments performed on the basis of his work in the United States.

Mr. Eiríkur Einarsson, graduate of the Dresden Institute of Technology, arrived in October to study architecture in New York, Washington, and other cities.

Mr. Gunnlaugur Halldorsson, graduate of the Copenhagen Institute of Technology and president of the Icelandic Society of Architects, also arrived in October to study architecture in various cities.

Mr. Thorvaldur Hliddal, graduate of Cambridge University, England, is studying electrical engineering on a scholarship at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N.Y.

Dr. Fríðgeir Olason and his wife, Dr. Sigrun Olason, both graduates of the University of Iceland, are studying medicine at the Knickerbocker Hospital, New York City.

Miss Gudrun C. Stephensen will study next semester at the Georgia State College for Women on a scholarship obtained through the Institute of International Education.

#### Norwegian Fellows

Mr. Johan Hambro, who studied journalism and history at Columbia University last semester, is now acting as secretary for his father, Mr. C. J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament.

Mr. Kaare Petersen, who studied economics at the University of Chicago last year, is now employed by the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission, New York City.

Mr. Johan Seland, who studied economics in New York and Washington, is also employed by the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission.

#### Swedish Fellows

Dr. and Mrs. Ewert Åberg arrived in Seattle from Stockholm by way of Russia and Japan on September 11. Dr. Åberg is studying in the Farm Crops Department at the Iowa State College of Agriculture in Ames. Mrs. Åberg is also studying at Iowa State College.

Miss Charlotte Ankarcrona, who studied at Centenary Junior College last year, has returned to Sweden.

Mr. Tell G. Dahllöf, who arrived in New York last December to study the Swedish-American press and is now assisting Mr. Nabeth Hedin in the American-Swedish News Exchange, receives high praise for his work in an article in the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* by Eric T. Winberg, which has been reprinted in several of the Swedish-American papers.

Mrs. Tell G. Dahllöf with her small son Åke arrived in New York to rejoin her husband on November 5. They spent some six weeks in the north of Finland waiting for the *Mathilda Thorden* to sail from Petsamo. Mrs. Dahllöf will study child welfare work in New York.

Miss Margareta Fröding also arrived on the *Mathilda Thorden* and is now studying on a scholarship obtained through the Institute of International Education at Mount Holyoke College.

Mr. C. Olof Gabrielson arrived in Seattle on the *Yawata Maru* from Japan on September 11. Mr. Gabrielson, who is a graduate of the Stockholm Institute of Technology, is studying physical chemistry at Princeton University.

Mr. Pelle Hammarlund also arrived in Seattle on the *Yawata Maru* on September 11. Mr. Hammarlund, who since graduating from the Stockholm Institute

of Technology has been employed by the Asea Company, is studying electrical engineering on a scholarship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mr. Paco Lagerström has been awarded additional scholarships from the Sweden-America Foundation and Princeton University and is now working towards his doctor's degree in mathematical logic at Princeton.

Miss Älvan Övden arrived on the *Mathilda Thorden* from Petsamo on November 5 to take up her studies at the New Jersey College for Women in New Brunswick on a scholarship obtained through the Institute of International Education.

Mr. Lars Rooth of Stockholm arrived on the *Mathilda Thorden* from Petsamo on November 5 and is now studying at Dartmouth College on a scholarship obtained through the Institute of International Education.

Miss Barbro Skagerlind, who has been studying for the past two years at the University of London, arrived in New York on the *Cameronia* on July 29. She holds a scholarship at Wellesley College as a special graduate student in Bible and Greek.

Mr. Harry Stockman, who during the spring and summer has visited most of the leading radio manufacturing plants and laboratories in the East and Middle West, has received an additional grant from the Sweden-America Foundation to continue his research at Columbia University.

Mr. Karl Tiselius, who studied electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology last year, and his wife returned to Sweden by way of Lisbon on September 19. During the spring and summer Mr. and Mrs. Tiselius travelled many thousands of miles in their car, visiting engineering plants and laboratories in all parts of the country. In Sweden Mr. Tiselius will resume his work with the Asea Company.

## Fellows' Publications

Miss Hedvig Collin, Fellow of the Foundation from Denmark, has contributed the illustrations to a very delightful children's book by Eva M. Kristoffersen, *The Merry Matchmakers* (Albert Whitman, Chicago. Price \$2). Miss Collin, who is well known in Europe and America as an illustrator, is at present painting portraits in Maine and working on a book about American children.

Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon, Fellow to Sweden last year, announces the publication of a *Ugaritic Grammar* (viii, 130 pp. quarto; 140 lire) which appeared recently under the auspices of the Vatican as volume 20 of the series *Analecta Orientalia*. The work is dedicated to a Swede, Nathaniel Schmidt, late professor of Semitic languages and oriental history at Cornell University, and the first draft was written at Uppsala University, Sweden, where Dr. Gordon had the use of an exceptionally fine collection of rare Ugarit texts.

Dr. George Hammar, Fellow of the Foundation from Sweden in 1938-39, has recently published a book embodying the results of his studies at Union Theological Seminary, Princeton, Yale, and elsewhere in the United States. It is entitled *Christian Realism in Contemporary American Theology* and is described as "a study of Reinhold Niebuhr, W. M. Horton, and H. P. Van Dusen, preceded by a general and historical survey." Dr. Hammar has performed a valuable service in bringing before European readers a comprehensive survey of American thought in this important field.

Dr. Howard Hong of St. Olaf College, who studied under the late Professor Eduard Geismar at the University of Copenhagen as a Fellow of the Foundation in 1938-39, and his wife, Mrs. Edna Hong, have recently added to the increasing body of Kierkegaard's work available in English by a translation of his *For Self-Examination*.

## Foundation Lecturers

Dr. Henrik Dam of the Copenhagen Biochemical Institute, well known in the United States as the discoverer of Vitamin K, will lecture on this subject at American universities and scientific institutions during the winter. Dr. Dam discovered Vitamin K in 1935 and named it the coagulation vitamin (the letter "K" stands for Koagulation, as it is spelled in German), because he found that its absence in the diet of chicks caused unchecked bleeding. Clinical tests have shown that it has the same effect on human beings suffering from hemorrhage. It is liberally found in alfalfa and has recently been used in Harvard laboratories to treat animal cancers produced by hydrocarbons.

Dr. Helge Kökeritz of Uppsala University, who is at present completing a book on *Place Names of the Isle of Wight* at Harvard University and who will join the English staff of the State University of Iowa next semester, gave several lectures at Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey, in October and will address the Scandinavian Forum in Cambridge in December. While in Iowa Dr. Kökeritz will be available for a limited number of engagements in the Middle West. He offers both popular and scientific lectures in his own field, English philology, and several illustrated popular lectures on Sweden.

Dr. Sven Liljeblad, Professor of Ethnology at Uppsala University, who is at present studying the oral traditions of the Shoshone Indians in Idaho, will undertake a lecture tour from coast to coast in February and March. Dr. Liljeblad, whose popular collections of Swedish folk tales have been best sellers in Sweden, will give illustrated lectures on Swedish folklore.

Dr. Einar Tegen, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Stockholm, is lecturing at American universities on "Recent Trends in Swedish Philosophy" and

"A Basic Problem in the Theory of Value." Dr. Tegen also offers a popular lecture on "Sweden and the European War."

#### Icelandic Educator

Professor Steingrimur Arason of the College of Education in Reykjavik, who took his degree at Columbia University some years ago, has returned to New York with his wife to spend the winter observing methods at Teachers College. Professor Arason is Vice-President of the Iceland-America Society, our cooperating body in Iceland.

#### American-Scandinavian Forum

At its first meeting in October the American-Scandinavian Forum of Cambridge, Massachusetts, voted to become a regular Chapter of the Foundation. Dr. Lloyd Allan Wood described his experiences as a Fellow of the Foundation in Sweden last year. Mr. Robert W. Bean, Fellow of the Foundation to Norway last year, spoke at the November meeting and Dr. Helge Kökeritz of Uppsala University will address the Forum in December. On November 8 the Forum and the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures in Harvard University sponsored a showing of the film *John Ericsson*. In addition to the main feature two short talking films were shown, one depicting a Swedish subject, the other a Norwegian. Two performances were given, one in the afternoon and one in the evening, both open without charge to the members of Harvard University and Radcliffe College and of course to the members of the Forum. "It is through the good efforts of Dr. Kökeritz that we are getting these motion pictures in Cambridge," writes Mr. Homer Halvorson, President of the Forum, "and we are indeed grateful to him and to the Scandinavian Talking Pictures, Inc., as well as to the Allotment Office of the Norwegian Consulate General in New York for their generosity."

#### Augustana Chapter

The Augustana Chapter began its season with a Danish program on October 23. A faculty-student group from Grand View College, Des Moines, presented a varied program of Danish violin, piano, and choral music. Dean S. D. Rydholm and Professor Ernest D. Nielsen gave brief talks in English and one of the students spoke on "Danish Songs in American Translation."

On Wednesday, November 13, Mr. C. J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament, spoke in the Augustana Auditorium under the auspices of the Chapter.

#### New York Chapter

Under the energetic leadership of Mr. G. Hilmer Lundbeck, Jr., the New York Chapter is undertaking a drive to double its membership which is already over 600. The first event of the season was a gay dinner dance at the Three Crowns Restaurant in the Swedish Pavilion at the World's Fair. A young Swedish ventriloquist, Mr. Burr Tillstrom, delighted the large crowd with his unique puppet show.

On November 13 a luncheon and bridge was held by the New York Chapter at the Norwegian Club in Brooklyn. The proceeds were donated to relief work in the Scandinavian countries.

Chapter members are active in the American-Scandinavian Women's Unit of the American Red Cross with headquarters at 636 Fifth Avenue, New York City, Room 619. Volunteer workers are welcome.

#### Springfield Chapter

Dr. Einar Tegen, Fellow of the Foundation from Sweden, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Stockholm, addressed the Springfield Chapter (Nordic Club) at a dinner meeting on October 22. Dr. Tegen spoke on "Sweden and the European War" and the lecture was followed by a lively discussion.



**I Saw It Happen in Norway.** By Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament and President of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Illustrated. *D. Appleton-Century*. 1940. Price \$2.50.

No one could be better equipped than Mr. Hambro to write this book. He has been for fifteen years President of the Storting, a position which in Norway ranks next to that of the King himself. He has also been chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and continuously reelected to represent Norway in the League of Nations. By keeping one man in these important positions, regardless of changing party majorities, Norway has followed the principle that a small country must adhere to a definite and consistent foreign policy.

The most dramatic and most personal part of the book is that narrating the events in which the author himself took part. It thoroughly dispels the picture of Norway as a nation seized by the jitters. Nothing could be less like "running away" than the evacuation of the King and royal family, the Government and Storting the night before the Germans entered Oslo. Mr. Hambro was from two o'clock on in touch with events through Norsk Telegrambureau, where members of the staff stayed at their posts regardless of air raid signals. He learned not only that there was fighting in the Oslofjord, but that the Germans were advancing on Bergen and Trondheim.

"There could be no doubt of what was happening. Without warning of any kind, without any ultimatum, the Germans had started a surprise attack on every strategically important point in Norway. Our army was not mobilized. We were absolutely unprepared to meet the attack. And if the King and royal family, the Government and the parliament should be taken by surprise, Norway would not only be at the mercy of the Germans, but would cease to be a sovereign State with an independent Government."

As soon as it had been decided to leave Oslo and remove to Hamar, an Order in Council was secured to clinch the constitutionality of the session. The staff of the Storting worked steadily all night assembling archives and protocols and packing all that was needed. Members were called on the telephone, and a special train was ordered to leave the East Central Station at seven. Meanwhile the Finance Minister was busy saving the gold

reserves and the Supply Minister was moving oil and provisions.

The President of the Storting went on to Hamar by automobile and prepared the hall—a job that was done so carefully that cards were even placed in the seats to show where each constituency was to sit. When the session was opened that same afternoon only four out of 150 members were absent. Foreign Minister Koht rendered a report of how the German Minister had called on him before five in the morning and handed him an ultimatum which, after a hurried consultation with the other members of the Cabinet, he had refused. The Storting unanimously confirmed the decision of the Government, after the parties had waived the privilege of separate party conferences. "Here we are only Norwegians and compatriots," said the leader of the Farmers' Party. The question of asking aid from the Allies was not even broached.

Mr. Hambro was chosen to go to Stockholm, not to ask any help from neighboring countries, but in order to care for Norway's interests abroad, using the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm as a center. Later he rejoined the King and Government at Tromsø in Northern Norway, which had been made headquarters for the government offices and the defense. This last phase of the two months' war in Norway was the most hopeful. All seemed to be going well. But then it was intimated very secretly that the Allies would have to leave. On June 3 King Haakon had to announce the fact to his Cabinet and the President of the Storting. Without fighting planes, with no



President Hambro

# I Saw It Happen In Norway

By C. J. HAMBRO

*President of the Norwegian Parliament*

An eye-witness account, told with remarkable clarity and force, of the Nazi invasion of Norway. Here, in the words of one of Europe's most prominent statesmen, are the amazing and authentic stories of Major Quisling, the Fifth Column, the methods used by the German army in subjugating the unprepared Norwegians, the heroic defense put up by the Norwegian army and navy. A rare object lesson that ought to be studied in every country that is still independent. "It is an important historical document which must be acquired by anyone who hopes to piece together the fragments of current history from authentic source material."—*N.Y. World-Telegram*. Illustrated. \$2.50



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anti-aircraft guns, and hardly any ammunition of any kind, the Norwegians could not carry on alone. The decision was taken to evacuate but without surrendering. "I think of all the dark days this was the hardest for King Haakon," says Mr. Hambro. "The very idea of leaving his people was abhorrent to him." The Crown Prince wished to remain, but it was not thought wise to run the risk of his capture by the Germans. The evacuation was effected secretly and with perfect success.

There are other dramatic chapters in the book, such as that dealing with the exploits of the Norwegian navy and the terrible punishment inflicted on the German naval vessels, and the chapter telling how the gold was removed in trucks, fishing boats, and finally freighters till it was safely deposited in Canadian and United States banks. The story of how 85 per cent of the immense merchant marine was saved is not told in detail, but credit is given the Legations in Washington and London for the fight by cable and wireless which counteracted the German attempt to seize the ships.

All friends of Norway have reason to be grateful to Mr. Hambro for getting out this book so quickly. It is the book we have been waiting for to set Norway right before the world.

HANNA ASTRUP LARSEN

**Carl Milles. An Interpretation of His Work.** By Meyric R. Rogers. Illustrated. *Yale University Press*, 1940. Price \$15.00.

I have just had the great pleasure of reading and looking through one of the most magnificent art books I have ever seen. This satisfying book concerns one of the most significant of living artists, one we are fortunate in having with us here in America—Carl Milles.

Mr. Milles with his extraordinarily fertile imagination and uninhibited technical facility is one of the leaders of a small group of modern sculptors who have something to say, something to contribute as a truly creative and individual artist. His lucid, teeming vital and imaginative creations have a unique place in this neglected art. In him there is much of the zestful power, the fantasy, the primitive delights in nature that typify his native Sweden. The vigorous freshness of his approach and his almost medieval mysticism seem thought transferences come to life in his stone and metal. His chief works, his masterful fountains, are without equal in sculpture with water, for these populated fountains are integrated with water in a fashion and scale no other has yet approached.

Here is an artist not self-consciously groping for motifs of expression: Milles emits sculpture, issuing it so masterfully and with such sheer delight that even in photographs one feels the spirit of this Northern genius. It is as though we were examining his soul when we analyze his works.

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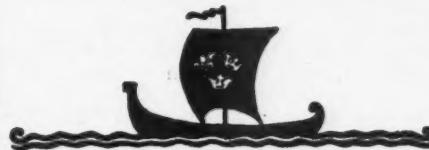
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The text seems to be the very sculpture itself speaking—prompted by Mr. Milles, so completely does the author interpret and express the plates which are to follow. His regard for Milles and his deep understanding of the sculptor are obviously not momentary whims of an artistic temperament. The background of the sculptor's life, the influences of his youth, the psychological make-up of the artist—all these lead to plates which seem to flow as a natural sequence of the words before. It is a rare pleasure to find a critic who so thoroughly comprehends and enters into the spirit of the artist; one who does not sit abstractly on an intellectual limb pouring forth his reactions.

The illustrations are in general excellent, although some could be more precise, and the layout is especially commendable. When a group or fountain is shown and our eye draws nearer the book to examine a detail, we turn the page and there it is. As more leaves are turned the sculpture revolves before our eyes—Milles is not to be backed against a wall—taking us completely around most of the extraordinary works presented. Nor are the photographs bunched onto the pages in futile attempt to crowd as many as possible on one sheet. The important ones, even details, are alone, so that we may revel in their beauty.

To conclude this admirable volume there is not only a check list of all the artist's main works but an alphabetical listing giving their location, many happily in this country.

The tactile sensation of the book alone hints of the limitless delights that lie within its covers. Mr. Rogers and the Yale University Press are to be commended and congratulated for producing this much needed, superb volume.

G. E. KIDDER SMITH

## FACT AND FICTION IN THE NORWEGIAN WAR

By EDVARD HAMBRO

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**Six Scandinavian Novelists.** By Alrik Gustafson. *American-Scandinavian Foundation, Princeton University Press.* 1940. Price \$3.50.

That Professor Alrik Gustafson of the University of Minnesota has made a valuable contribution to the criticism of Scandinavian literature no reader of his *Six Scandinavian Novelists* is likely to question. Except for the drama of Ibsen and Strindberg, the number of serious discussions in English of modern Scandinavian literature is sadly limited; and though translations of Scandinavian novels have been abundant in recent years, the reader who has wished to pursue their study beyond acquaintance with personalities and the scattered judgments of reviews has been baffled if he could not read the excellent criticism in the original Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. The present volume sponsored by the American-Scandinavian Foundation is thus particularly welcome as a thoughtful, informative group of essays in a field scarcely dealt with in English.

The book studies six major Scandinavian novelists from the period of the first full flowering of fiction in Scandinavia: Lie and Jacobsen from the early period of its development; Heidenstam, Lagerlöf, Hamsun, and Undset from the era which is now drawing to a close, as the deaths during this year of Lagerlöf and Heidenstam have so strikingly reminded us. The writers are considered in six critical essays, which are not intended to constitute a literary history, though they do aim to provide "the broad general basis for an historical study of the Scandinavian novel." A preliminary chapter sketches the background of literary and critical tendencies, establishes the relation of Scandinavian fiction to European trends and to recent criticism, and indicates the bases upon which Mr. Gustafson has chosen his six writers. Thus the popular Bojer and Gulbranssen are eliminated as of lesser literary consequence than Duun, Garborg, Jensen, and others whose literary achievement would entitle them to serious consideration, but who are less distinguished, less representative, or less integrally related to major literary developments than are the novelists discussed in the six essays.

The essays themselves are further limited in that they devote a large portion of their attention to the analysis of one major work by each author, with a relatively brief survey of his other significant works. Biographical data are similarly subordinated in the interest of thorough consideration of philosophy and literary theory drawn from these facts and from the critical pronouncements of the writers and their contemporaries. The volume thus achieves a far greater value than does the usual extensive literary history and at the same time provides most of the values of such history. Though Mr. Gustafson explains the inclusion of biographical and historical facts on the ground that the book is intended for the American and English public, he has included nothing, in my opinion, that is not

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helpful to the student at home in the field. His critical evaluations of the writers and the particular books analyzed could serve the uninitiated as a guide to the study of fiction, and at the same time they offer judgments which are a challenge and stimulus to those more accustomed to such analysis and more familiar with the writers and novelists in question.

Mr. Gustafson's judgments are critical but enthusiastic. Superlatives and glowing adjectives abound; his enthusiasm is contagious. But the book never sacrifices its scholarly standards to popular appeal. It creates an understanding of the significant achievement of these varied novelists; and one of its merits is that it emphasizes this variety and avoids, as the author says, "facile generalizations about . . . 'the Scandinavian temperament' or 'characteristic qualities of Scandinavian art.'"

The unfortunate fact is that some of the noteworthy books by these novelists are not available in English translation. It seems regrettable to me that he did not include a list of translations. Such a list and a selected bibliography would add much to the book's usefulness for the student and for the general reader, who will undoubtedly be eager to widen his acquaintance with these novelists after reading Mr. Gustafson's illuminating studies.

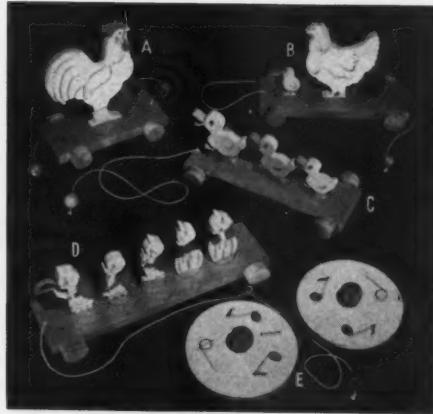
HENRIETTE C. K. NAESETH

**I Chose Denmark.** By Francis Hackett. Doubleday, Doran. 1940. Price \$2.50.

Countries are different; writing about them necessitates therefore different methods. Brazil could be given a descriptive analysis only after a voyage of discovery down there. Denmark on the other hand has been so much written about that a telling account of it could be given merely by drawing 99 books from the library and writing from them the 100th. Three years ago, Agnes Rothery published her *Denmark: Kingdom of Reason* with a bibliography of 148 entries. It would require both repetition and imagination to compile a bibliography of that scope on Brazil, 207 times as big as Denmark.

The significance of all this was thoroughly familiar to Francis Hackett, son of Ireland, husband of Signe Toksvig, daughter of Denmark, when he decided to write the book before us. He chose the other method. He refers of course, casually, to other writers; but his book could have been written, just as well, had he been cooped up on a desert island with the one and only book appropriate to such a predicament: a note book. He did not write this unique tribute to Denmark because it had been forbidden domain since April 9 last. He wrote it because he had come, in the last twenty years, to know the land and love its people. His is a book of honest inspiration, rare charm, dateless suggestiveness, singular timeliness.

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His case may be visualized from his own Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett, Irish land reformer, wanted to give Ireland cooperative dairies. When the plan was about ready to fold up, Sir Horace visited Denmark, to see how she did it, only to find that Denmark established folk high schools before she went in for cheeses, that she had produced texts on cows before she spent excessive sums on stalls, that Denmark put, in short, culture before agriculture. It was, however, too late for Ireland.

The best thing to me about the revolving *smörgåsbord* is the impunity with which I can skip a dish. That brand of tactics fails when applied to a book. Hop over a chapter, and you may find the next one insufferable for that very reason. As to omissions, Mr. Hackett is grocer, chef, and host all in one. He has no faded account of the Oldenborg-Holstein-Gottorp line. From *I Chose Denmark* you would never learn that Copenhagen has a University which had had commencements before the parents of Columbus had met. He is a worshipper without cant of Denmark's pre-rape food, but he does not tire you with an inventory of all the seductions known to the *Spiseseddel*; in fact he does not tire at all with the fatuous insertion of Danish words.

He even quotes the Royal Opera motto, *Ej blot til Lyst*, as "Not for amusement only." That defeated this reader for to him that was his second Danish *mot*, the first being *Læn Dem ikke ud!* Being himself a teetotaler, he does bracket *Afhedsmaend*, is patently taken by *Men dog*, and is distressed over *Madpakke*. But in the main he writes such uncorrupted English as the *New Republic* long demanded, and for which he wrote until Signe Toksvig strolled into its Manhattan office and strolled out with its Irish associate.

As to actual contents, Mr. Hackett is no teller of a tale outworn; he is instead the student with the original approach to the country that, next to Greece, has received proportionately the greatest amount of cultured attention. His overture is a case in point. It tells of his visit to Schleswig-Holstein in 1919 when King Christian X rode on his favorite mount into and thereby took possession of that part of Slesvig which had voted itself back to Denmark. What a chance to repeat, what a temptation to bore!

There is no yielding. Mr. Hackett tells nothing about the plot so hard to disentangle; he says nothing about the latitude and longitude, the mercantile present, the racial past of the reclaimed province. He tells instead of the Danish journalists herded on the patient bark *Storkodder*, their staying qualities, their ability to drink, write, eat, talk all night and then make ready for a five o'clock breakfast by smoking a surly cigar. Important? Quite so. Denmark has 300 daily newspapers; the Bronx has one.

There are twenty-two chapters each with a number of carefully marked subdivisions—as in a French novel back in the days when the *citoyens* were still muddled as to the identity



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of God and Balzac. The main theme is simple: Around 1850, Denmark was beggared through too many noblemen and too few farmers. Then, previous to contemporaneous protective brutality, she worked her way out: the farms became the world's best, the nobility went to work, on bicycles—and everyone went to Denmark.

Everyone who could visit Denmark to see men with souls, social faith sought after and found, to study the effects of no slums, no illiteracy, no capital punishment, but few jails, still fewer policemen, a mere skeleton of an army, with a total population less than that of Brooklyn—but with a ship in every harbor, a Jean Hersholt wherever there are good movies, a Niels Bohr in every assembly of scientists. And Copenhagen! The writer of these lines has lived long enough to have lived a little in twenty-one of the world's capitals. If privileged, or forced, to retire to the city of his choice it would be Kjöbenhavn.

Space shortage forces me to corner two concluding facts. In unimprovable paragraphs, Mr. Hackett shows how and why medical treatment that costs \$1 in Denmark costs \$5 in Ireland, and a specialist who charges \$5 in Copenhagen charges \$100 in Dublin. There are three truths concerning any Irishman that are universally conceded: He is not an easy praiser, he cannot be wheedled into blandishments by his wife, and he will pan Ireland only under duress. If Ireland would lay down her stones and stay calm, as Denmark does, she could go forth with power.

Also, the Hacketts lived for years in Hellerup and the namesake of the pride of Assisi has much to say about this suburb. That reminds me. Mr. Hackett mentions a Danish bank teller who spoke many languages with fluent perfection. It is five times as easy for a Dane to learn English as it is for an American to learn German. I was invited once by the headmaster of a renowned school in Hellerup to come out and deliver a lecture, of one hour, to his four hundred students. Said I: "But my Danish is not good enough for such a lecture." Said he: "We want you to speak English." Said I: "Who will understand me?" Said he: "Who will understand you? We really teach foreign languages over here."

I went. I lectured. Not a student grasped an entire sentence. After the lecture I mingled, as it were, with them. It was a failure. Their cheeks grew even redder, their eyes bluer, but their tongues remained cleaved to the thatch of their mouths. The next day the evening was written up in *Politiken* with gracious truth, including the last sentence: "What the speaker said we do not know."

But Mr. Hackett's excursus into the realm of polyglottism is to be understood: The Irish are the world's poorest linguists. It is one of the reasons why they never write impersuasive English.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

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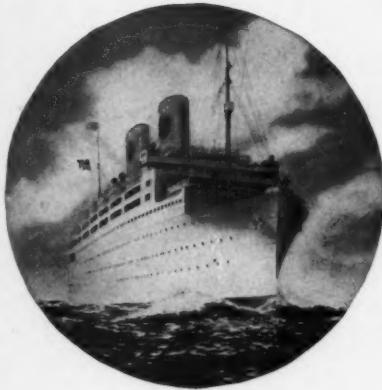


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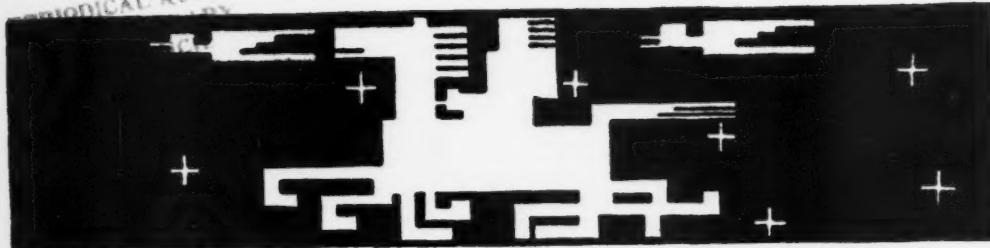
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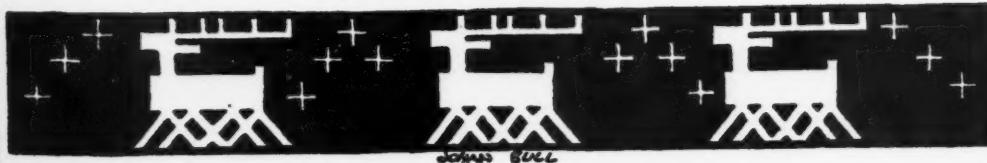
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